

# A HISTORIATED TREE OF JESSE\*

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## ARCHETYPE

Eighteen Trees of Jesse, one in Italy on the façade of the Duomo at Orvieto and the others in southeastern Europe, in Yugoslavian, Greek, Romanian, and Bulgarian monasteries, share so many distinctive iconographical characteristics that their derivation from a single, surprisingly influential source is certain. Probably created about 1262–64 in the papal court during its sojourn at Orvieto, this archetype had a rich and unprecedented array of figures and scenes which celebrated the twin themes of the ancestry and prophecy of Christ. Unfortunately, it has perished, but its eighteen replicas permit the following reconstruction of its basic form and iconography (fig. 1):

1. Jesse, David, five other Old Testament kings (K), the Virgin, and Christ—the genealogical stock of a Jesse Tree—linked by an acanthus vine which was rooted near Jesse's side.
2. Additional ancestors of Christ (A). In two groups, twelve immediately flanking the line of kings and twenty others—whole and half figures—at the edges of the Tree.
3. Prophetic scenes. Three in acanthus roundels on either side of David and twelve more paralleling the ascending line of kings; eighteen altogether.
4. Prophets (P). Twelve pairs next to each of the scenes above David's level.
5. Pagans (Pg). Twelve in all, eleven male philosophers or authors and one sibyl, divided equally on either side of the sleeping Jesse.
6. Gabriel and Isaias addressing the Virgin.

In the activities of these last two individuals, ancestry and prophecy unite. Gabriel foretold Christ's birth to the Virgin, which brought to fruition his ancestral line *secundum carnem*. Isaias prophesied the Annunciation (7:14) and the "rod out of the root of Jesse" (11:1), which, combined with Matthew's genealogy (1:1–17), underlies the iconography of the Tree of Jesse itself.<sup>1</sup>

Trees of Jesse which do not belong to this group invariably appear abbreviated when compared to this formidable image. As an example, the relatively early (*ca.* 1155) one at Chartres has a total of only six ancestors of Christ including Jesse and the Virgin, far less than the forty—exactly the number in Matthew's list—in our

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<sup>1</sup> A. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (London, 1934), 1 ff.; E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France*, 6th ed., revised (Paris, 1953), 141 ff., 168 ff.

archetype.<sup>2</sup> Although it is true that prophets regularly supplement the genealogical proof of Christ's human ancestry, the fourteen at Chartres are beggared by the twenty-four here. Likewise, although a single sibyl sometimes joins the group of prophets, as in the Psalter of Queen Ingeburg of France, there is no precedent for a group of twelve philosophers and seers.<sup>3</sup> Finally, there are the prophetic scenes. Occasionally, as in the Jesse Trees in the Bible in Lambeth Palace or in a Cistercian *Vitae Sanctorum* in Dijon, a few prophetic episodes are introduced into or juxtaposed to a Tree of Jesse, but once again such comparisons reveal more clearly than ever the special character of the archetype's iconography—no less than eighteen scenes.<sup>4</sup>

The reconstructed form of the original Jesse Tree of this historiated type is not immediately evident from any one of its surviving copies. Although they do resemble one another so much that there can be no doubt of their common ancestry, they also differ in many confusing ways. Accidents, time, and weather must have completely destroyed many versions of the subject; they have nearly destroyed many that we must use as evidence. But preservation is not the major problem. Instead, it is iconographical variety within the basic type. Numbers and identities of figures are far from constant; more striking, what in one version is an episode based on a passage from the Old Testament might be a scene derived from the New in another. Judged solely on the basis of the clarity with which they reflect the archetypal iconography, most of these Trees are unfaithful copies, and, therefore, the evidence of the archetype that each presents must be weighed carefully.

*Orvieto.* Sculptors probably began working on the Tree of Jesse for the second buttressing pier on the front of Orvieto's cathedral about 1305–8 (figs. 2–7).<sup>5</sup> If the content of the Tree at Orvieto is matched with that of the suggested archetype, a high degree of similarity emerges, but there are some noteworthy differences as well: only two instead of three prophetic scenes may be found on either side of David; Gabriel and Isaias are enclosed in acanthus roundels which have single, half-length figures leaning against them; a dozen pairs of figures, teaching apostles, take the places of the ancestors of Christ on the periphery of the Tree; and the pagans, here thirteen and a large ensepulchered skeleton, are separated into two tiers.

Because the sculpture bears no inscriptions, many components of this Jesse Tree eluded identification for a long time. L. Gruner's suggestions in 1858 are the earliest in modern scholarship. Contributions by L. Fumi, J. W. and A. M. Cruickshank, A. Venturi, A. Schmarzow, and E. A. Rose followed, but not until 1936 was there

<sup>2</sup> Y. Delaporte, *Les vitraux de la Cathédrale de Chartres* (Chartres, 1926), 143 ff., color pl. 1, pls. 1–3.

<sup>3</sup> MS 1695, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>, Musée Condé, Chantilly; F. Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter* (Berlin, 1967), 32 ff., pl. 10. Watson, *op. cit.*, 169 f., mentions some earlier groups of sibyls, but the presence of male authors here separates the two traditions.

<sup>4</sup> MS 3, I, fol. 198<sup>r</sup>: C. R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066–1200* (Cambridge, 1954), 88 ff., pl. 59a.

<sup>5</sup> L. Fumi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto e i suoi restauri* (Rome, 1891); E. Carli, *Il Duomo di Orvieto* (Rome, 1965) (hereafter Carli, *Duomo*), has good bibliographic data in notes, pp. 21 ff., 59 ff. Opinion is mixed on the date of the sculpture. J. White, "The Reliefs on the Façade of the Duomo at Orvieto," *JWarb*, 22 (1959), 254 ff., and M. Wundram, "Zu den Fassadenskulpturen des Domes zu Orvieto," *Kunstgeschichtliche Gesellschaft zu Berlin. Sitzungsberichte*, N.F. 17 (1968–69), 11 ff., are among the more recent contributors to this issue. My own analysis of the dating problem is in my dissertation, "The Iconography of the Façade Decoration of the Cathedral of Orvieto" (Princeton University, 1969), 6 ff.

a major breakthrough. A. Nava recognized that Orvieto's Tree was fundamentally similar to two examples on Mt. Athos and five others in Romania that had been published by P. Henry. This discovery had a number of important consequences. It raised the question of a common archetypal source, by implication at least, for the first time; it enabled Nava, and later Carli and Watson, to identify many components of the Tree much more precisely than had been done before; and at the same time it revealed that, although there were unquestionable similarities, there were also differences in the group that were noticeable especially in the components of many of the scenes in roundels.<sup>6</sup>

In a study published in 1972 I discussed these discrepancies and offered textual bases in the Old Testament for each of the scenes at Orvieto.<sup>7</sup> Because these are crucial in reconstructing the archetype and learning its meaning, I list them here, without, however, the detailed analyses that were part of the earlier article. Corresponding to their enumeration in figure 3 (whose eccentricities reflect their location in the original), they are:

2. *The Anointing of David* (1 Kings 16:10–13)
3. *The Miracle of the Fleece* (Judg. 6:36–40)
4. *A Star out of Jacob* (Num. 24:17)
5. *Balaam and the Ass* (Num. 22:22–30)
7. *The Testament of Moses* (Deut. 18:15)
8. *The Celebration of the Israelites* (Exod. 15:1–21; Wisd. 10:18–21)
9. *A Fountain from the House of the Lord* (Joel 3:18f.)
10. *A Stone Cut without Hands* (Dan. 2:34ff.)
6. *The Vision of Ezechiel* (Ezech. 1:1–11)
12. *The Peaceable Kingdom* (Isa. 11:6–8)
11. *The Prophecy of Nahum* (Nah. 1:15)
14. *The Expulsion of Heliodorus* (2 Mach. 3:25–27)
13. *The Blessing of Bethlehem* (Mich. 5:1–3)
16. *Truth and Justice* (Ps. 84:12)
17. *The Angel of the Testament* (Mal. 3:1)
18. *The Prophecy of the Crucifixion* (Amos 8:9)

In this brief inventory of Jesse Trees of this type these identifications are convenient touchstones.

<sup>6</sup> L. Gruner, *Die Basreliefs an der Vorderseite des Doms zu Orvieto* (Leipzig, 1858), 5ff.; L. Fumi, *Il Duomo di Orvieto e il simbolismo cristiano* (Rome, 1896), 13ff.; J. W. and A. M. Cruickshank, *The Umbrian Cities of Italy*, I (Boston, 1907), 278ff.; A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, IV (Milan, 1906), 328, 335ff.; A. Schmarsow, *Italienische Kunst im Zeitalter Dantes*, I (Augsburg, 1928), 141ff.; E. A. Rose, "The Meaning of the Reliefs on the Second Pier of the Orvieto Façade," *ArtB*, 14 (1932), 258ff.; A. Nava, "'L'Albero di Jesse' nella Cattedrale d'Orvieto e la pittura bizantina," *RIASA*, 5,3 (1936), 363ff.; P. Henry, "L'arbre de Jessé dans les églises de Bukovine," *Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français des Hautes-Etudes en Roumanie, Mélanges*, 1928 (hereafter Henry, "L'arbre de Jessé"), 1ff.; E. Carli, *Le sculture del Duomo di Orvieto* (Bergamo, 1947), 31ff.; *idem*, *Duomo*, 44ff.; A. Watson, "The Imagery of the Tree of Jesse on the West Front of Orvieto Cathedral," *Fritz Saxl, 1890–1948: A Volume of Memorial Essays from his Friends in England*, ed. D. J. Gordon (London, 1957), 149ff.

<sup>7</sup> M. D. Taylor, "The Prophetic Scenes in the Tree of Jesse at Orvieto," *ArtB*, 54 (1972), 403ff.

*Sopoćani*. In all probability the Tree in the narthex of the Church of the Trinity at Sopoćani is the terminus ante quem for the creation of the archetype (figs. 8–10).<sup>8</sup> Most scholars now agree that these Serbian paintings were done close to 1268, earlier by far than any other extant Tree of this species.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, the long exposure to the weather of this part of Sopoćani's frescoes has devastated all but a small portion of its Tree. Aided by a diagram, one can barely make out Jesse, David, part of the next king, and parts of six of the scenes. The Anointing, Miracle of the Fleece, Star, and Balaam and the Ass on the lowest row are scarcely recognizable. Even had there been no deterioration, however, this example would have been of limited usefulness. The meager dimensions of the wall eliminated the pagans at the bottom and also the full vertical and horizontal development of the image.

*Arilje*. Although better preserved, the Jesse Tree on the west wall of the narthex of St. Achilles in Arilje (1296) has even fewer similarities with Orvieto (figs. 11, 12).<sup>10</sup> Only one scene corresponds to the latter's group—Balaam and the Ass on the left of the doorway; two others, the Nativity and the Archangel Michael, offer only suggestive resemblances. There is no discrete group of pagans, but a lonely sibyl does stand within the tangled vine.

*Prizren*. The Tree in the outer narthex of the Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren (1310–13) (fig. 15) suffered great damage during the Turkish occupation, yet even before this its pattern would have been difficult to understand because of the decision to spread the vine on the surfaces of two vaults.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, telltale details, such as the Star out of Jacob, the Miracle of the Fleece, and three pagans—the sibyl, Plato, and Plutarch—nearby on the northwest corner pier do confirm its affinity with this group.<sup>12</sup>

*Dečani*. The monastery church of the Savior in Dečani has a Tree (ca. 1350) that, at least on first sight, appears more comprehensible than its two predecessors, but it, too, has its share of unique and problematic characteristics (figs. 13, 14).<sup>13</sup> In common with the others, scenes flank the central row of kings, here eight in number, and one can find the Anointing, Gideon and the Fleece, the Star out of Jacob, and Balaam and the Ass near their customary places close to the base of the vine. With these there is also a Baptism, a Presentation, and a Nativity, scenes of a Gospel origin which appear with notable frequency in many of these Eastern versions. Dečani has no pagans, and the lateral development of the subject is curtailed.

*Studenica*. The sparse remains of a very little-known Tree of this type are on the courtyard face of the entry tower at Studenica (fig. 16). Barely perceptible frag-

<sup>8</sup> G. Millet and A. Frolow, *La peinture du moyen-âge en Yougoslavie*, fasc. 2 (Paris, 1957), p. x, pl. 25; Watson, "Imagery," 149 ff.; V. J. Djurić, *Sopoćani* (Belgrade, 1963), 113 ff., 132; extensive bibliographies in V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin [1967]) (hereafter Lazarev, *Storia*), 298 ff.; V. J. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien* (Munich, 1976) (hereafter Djurić, *Fresken*), 54 ff.

<sup>9</sup> See *infra*, p. 143 f.

<sup>10</sup> N. L. Okunev, "Arilje. Pamjatnik' serbskago iskusstva XIII veka," *SemKond*, 8 (1936), 221 ff.; Millet and Frolow, *op. cit.*, p. x, pls. 91–93, 103; Watson, "Imagery," 149 ff.; Lazarev, *Storia*, 302 f.; Djurić, *Fresken*, 61 f.

<sup>11</sup> H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien*, III, *Die Malerschule des Königs Milutin* (Giessen, 1963), 26 ff., 43 ff., 133 ff., and *passim*; Lazarev, *Storia*, 302, 388 f.; Djurić, *Fresken*, 68; D. Panić and G. Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška* (Belgrade, 1975), 70 ff.

<sup>12</sup> D. Medaković, "Pretstave antičkih filozofa i sivila u živopisu Bogorodice Ljeviške," *ZVI*, 6 (1960), 43 ff.

<sup>13</sup> V. R. Petković, *Dečani*, I (Belgrade, 1941), pls. 269–71; Watson, "Imagery," 149 ff.; Lazarev, *Storia*, 390 f.; Djurić, *Fresken*, 79 ff.

ments of a Crucifixion and a Baptism link this Tree most closely with those at Prizren and Dečani, and, for these reasons, a date in the third or fourth decades of the fourteenth century is most likely.<sup>14</sup> The fact that so very little has been preserved makes this version nearly valueless for this study.

*Morača.* The version at Morača, in the narthex of the Church of the Dormition, is also useless for the reconstruction of the archetype.<sup>15</sup> It is the latest of this type in Serbia, dated 1577–78, a fact which may help explain many of its peculiar features. A draped rectangle (an altar?) has replaced Jesse, and a scene showing Gabriel encountering Jesse and the young David has usurped the customary place of the Miracle of the Fleece, to cite only two examples (fig. 18). However, the Anointing, the Star, and Balaam and the Ass in the lowest row demonstrate its connection with the group.

*Salonika.* The recently discovered frescoes in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Salonika include a version of the Tree (shortly after 1315) (fig. 17).<sup>16</sup> Much of its lower portion has been effaced, but one can still see the similarities between its structure, the archetype's, and Orvieto's. The divisions of kings, ancestors, scenes, prophets, and ancestors, from center to sides, are guiding principles in this composition, as they are in the others. Furthermore, in locations analogous to their placement at Orvieto, one finds the Stone Cut without Hands and the Anointing—more than enough to affirm this Tree's link with the group.

*The Great Lavra.* The refectory of the Great Lavra on Mt. Athos has an example of this kind of Jesse Tree (ca. 1536) which rivals Orvieto's in its scope and richness (figs. 19, 20).<sup>17</sup> Each of the basic iconographical categories is there: Jesse, six kings, the Virgin, and Christ; parallel lines of ancestors; eighteen scenes in roundels including, along the bottom, the Anointing of David, the Fleece, the Star Out of Jacob, and Balaam and the Ass; twenty-four paired figures next to the scenes, most of whom are identified as prophets; full and half-length ancestors on the sides; and twelve pagans on Jesse's level. The importance of this Tree for the task of reconstructing the archetype is guaranteed by the quantity of its contents alone.

*Dochiariou.* Less florid is the later (1568) example in the Athonite monastery of Dochiariou (fig. 23).<sup>18</sup> It is smaller, with only four kings and ten scenes. Its relationship to the others is secure, however, for among other points of similarity, the Anointing and Balaam are near the bottom. No pagans accompany this image.

*Moldavia.* When P. Henry studied the eastern Trees of this type, he knew only these two examples on Mt. Athos and five others in Moldavia. The latter are on the

<sup>14</sup> Studenica's Tree has received only brief mention in scholarly literature; see Djurić, *Fresken*, 46. Because murals of ca. 1235 decorate a chapel inside the tower, there has been a mistaken tendency to assign that date to the painting on the outside. Iconographical evidence and the formal character of the work, similar to the genealogical tree at Gračanica, preclude its origin before the beginning of the fourteenth century.

<sup>15</sup> Only the early frescoes in the sanctuary (dated after its foundation in 1252) have attracted much attention: Lazarev, *Storia*, 298; Djurić, *Fresken*, 50ff.

<sup>16</sup> A. Xyngopoulos, "Les fresques de l'église des Saints-Apôtres à Thessalonique," *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice, 1971), 83ff.

<sup>17</sup> H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1924), 278f.; G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos* (Paris, 1927), 60, pl. 151; Henry, "L'arbre de Jessé," 24ff.; Nava, *op. cit.*, 365ff.; M. Chatzidakis, "Recherches sur le peintre Théophane le Crétois," *DOP*, 23–24 (1969–70), 319ff.; J. Yiannias, "The Wall Paintings in the Trapeza of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos: A Study in Eastern Orthodox Refectory Art" (Diss. Univ. of Pittsburgh, 1971), 60ff., 164ff., and *passim*.

<sup>18</sup> Brockhaus, *op. cit.*, 162f., 286, pl. 12; Millet, *Athos*, 60, pl. 240; Henry, "L'arbre de Jessé," 24ff.

exterior walls of monastic churches at *Humor* (1530–35), St. George at *Suceava* (1532–34), *Moldovița* (1537) (fig. 24), *Voroneț* (1547) (figs. 21, 22, 25), and *Sucevița* (ca. 1600).<sup>19</sup> Henry correctly saw that they were all of the same type and that the Romanian works shared enough characteristics to permit him to use Voroneț's as the representative example of this Romanian subspecies. There is no reason to dispute either conclusion. Like the Lavra's Tree, the one at Voroneț has the quantity and the ordering of component parts that mark only the most complete examples of the group. As soon as one becomes accustomed to the schematic regularity of the ovals of the vine, one can see the six kings between Jesse and the Virgin, eighteen scenes, and an adequate separation of prophets and ancestors into their accustomed positions. Subjects including the Anointing of David, Gideon and the Fleece, the Star out of Jacob, and Balaam and the Ass appear here in the lower row. Noteworthy in the Tree at Voroneț are the heads of the Twelve Tribes of Israel beside the line of kings. Suceava, Moldovița, and Sucevița have less complete sets of tribes, just as they all have other minor features that differentiate them from Voroneț, but there is no reason to separate them from the basic Romanian group. In all these Trees, except the one at Sucevița, the pagans are in vertical bands along the sides; Sucevița has them at the bottom, although in every other respect it resembles Voroneț's far more than the Lavra's Tree.<sup>20</sup>

Only the pagans have attracted attention to the late Trees at *Cetățuia* (1668–72) near Iași, and at *Bačkovo* (ca. 1643) and *Arbanasi* (1649) in Bulgaria.<sup>21</sup> Their presence, the structured characters of each Tree, and scenes like the Star out of Jacob and Balaam and the Ass assure their relationship to the group, but none is very useful for the reconstruction of the archetype.

Of this group, the Jesse Trees at Orvieto, the Lavra, and the Moldavian series epitomized by Voroneț are the most important. The archetype had to have been at least as comprehensive as they are. While it is not at all difficult to consider the Trees at Sopoćani, Arilje, or Salonika as simplified versions of a more complex original scheme, the reverse is impossible. It is not conceivable that the early fourteenth-century sculptors at Orvieto and the mid-sixteenth-century painters at Voroneț could have embellished an impoverished or skeletal common model independently in such similar ways. The Jesse Trees at Orvieto, the Lavra, and Voroneț indicate that there should be six kings between Jesse and the Virgin, that six figures should be on each side of the row of kings, that David should be framed by the Anointing of David and the Miracle of the Fleece on the left and by the Star out of

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 1ff. In addition, see P. Henry, *Les églises de la Moldavie du nord dès origines à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1930), 143ff., 160ff., 233ff., pls. 41, 42, 45, 46; I. D. Ștefănescu, *L'évolution de la peinture religieuse en Bucovine et en Moldavie depuis les origines jusqu'au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1928), 106ff., 111ff., 130ff., 144ff., pls. 52, 53, 55, 73, 86; *idem*, *L'évolution de la peinture religieuse en Bucovine et en Moldavie: Nouvelles recherches, étude iconographique* (Paris, 1929) (hereafter Ștefănescu, *Nouvelles Recherches*), 159ff.; Nava, *op. cit.*, 365ff.; V. Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale în țările Române* (Bucharest, 1959), 813f.; Lazarev, *Storia*, 396f., for additional general bibliography. For Suceava's date, see S. Ulea, "Datarea frescelor bisericii mitropolitane Sf. Gheorghe din Suceava," *SCIA*, 13 (1966), 207ff.

<sup>20</sup> In all likelihood there was once a Tree of this kind at Probata: Ștefănescu, *L'évolution de la peinture* (1928), 106, 163f., 103ff.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 164f., pl. 93; *idem*, *Nouvelles recherches*, 61f., 159ff.; A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* (Paris, 1928), 278f., pl. 53; A. Boschkov, *Die Bulgarische Malerei von den Anfängen bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Recklinghausen, 1969), 285ff., figs. 167, 168, 170; I. Dujčev, *Heidnische Philosophen und Schriftsteller in der alten bulgarischen Wandmalerei* (Opladen, 1976), 7ff.

Jacob and Balaam and the Ass on the right, and that the overall structure already proposed for the archetype is sound. However, questions about the number and subjects of the scenes, about the number of ancestors and prophets, and about the pagans can be answered only by a more critical investigation of the contents of these trees, and that investigation ought to begin with the prophetic scenes.

*Prophetic Scenes.* Scene 8 (fig. 4) at Orvieto has been identified as the Celebration of the Israelites, and both Exod. 15:1–21 and Wisd. 10:18–21 have been proposed as the biblical sources of the iconography. The sculpture portrays: to the left, two singers wearing diadems and an elderly man holding a young child who points to an open scroll; to the right, a woman with a timbrel; and at the bottom, wavy striations in the marble which signify water. Most of these elements conform to the description in Exodus of the joyful festivities following the passage of the Red Sea. The old man is Moses; the woman on the right is Mary the prophetess who “took a timbrel in her hand”; the singers are the women who accompanied her; and the water is the Red Sea. Exodus lacks, however, any explanation for the child and the scroll, so obviously central to the iconography. A justification for their presence lies in the passage from Wisdom, especially the twenty-first verse: “For wisdom opened the mouth of the dumb, and made the tongues of infants eloquent.” Such an eloquent infant is seen here at Orvieto. A depiction of Old Testament history which depends on two texts is a rare occurrence, but there are special reasons for it which will be discussed later.

The passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea to the promised land was customarily likened to the Christian’s passage through the rite of baptism into the church. Pharaoh and his people symbolized the evil that was purged by water, and the prophetess prefigured Ecclesia.<sup>22</sup> Thus, in the context of a Tree of Jesse which verifies that the Messiah will be of the line of David, the Celebration shows that Christ’s incarnation and the founding of His church were presaged by biblical history. It demonstrates His fulfillment of Old Testament promises.

In spite of its distinctive character and its appropriateness to the overall prophetic theme, the Celebration never appears in any of the other versions of this Tree of Jesse. In its place at the Lavra and at Voroneț, to the right of Solomon, is the Presentation of the Christ Child (fig. 25). Presentations also appear at Prizren, Dečani, and Morača in Serbia, at the Holy Apostles’ Church in Salonika, at Dochiariou, and in all the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Romanian and Bulgarian versions. Before proceeding to a conclusion about this phenomenon, however, we should look at another, parallel case.

On the right, at a level between the third and fourth kings, the Orvietan sculptors have carved a scene (fig. 5) based on Isaias’ vision of the Peaceable Kingdom (11:6–8): “The wolf shall dwell with the lamb; and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; the calf and the lion, and the sheep shall abide together. And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp: and the weaned child shall thrust his hand into the den of the basilisk.” A child nurses at the breast of his recumbent mother in the upper part of the roundel. Almost all of the animals mentioned are in the lower

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the *Glossa ordinaria*, PL, 113, cols. 183, 222ff.

part, where they watch an asp slithering into its hole. Like the Celebration, the Peaceable Kingdom alludes to the establishment of Christ's church, specifically to its eventual embrace of different classes of worshipers. Of course, the nursing child is a reference to Christ.<sup>23</sup>

Once again, this iconography never appears in the seventeen Eastern versions of the Tree. In an analogous position in the Lavra's Tree and in the one at Voroneț is a Nativity. This New Testament subject occurs also as early as the examples at Arilje, Prizren, and Salonika, and it is so ubiquitous that, like the Presentation, it has to be considered an Eastern characteristic of the image.

The fortunes of the Celebration and the Peaceable Kingdom elucidate a curious phenomenon that occurred in the transmission of this Tree of Jesse. There is no doubt that Orvieto preserves the original subject of each roundel. Both scenes in the sculpture are based on the Old Testament, and both amplify the prophetic component of the Jesse Tree. Surprisingly, in the Eastern Trees the same scenes have metamorphosed into Gospel subjects, which they superficially resemble. And these metamorphoses can have gone only in this direction: it is inconceivable that an artist, confronting representations of the Presentation and the Nativity (neither an uncommon subject), would mistake them for illustrations of the Celebration, based on two Old Testament texts rather than one, and for the Peaceable Kingdom which, as far as we know, was never depicted except in the archetype of this group and at Orvieto. Certainly, the physical similarities between the prophecies and their Eastern counterparts contributed to the alterations. Moses and the infant do look like Simeon and the Christ Child in the Presentation, and the nursing woman does recall the Virgin in a Nativity. In fact, it is very probable that, when those who assembled the archetype were asked to represent the prophetic texts, they used fragments of commonplace, New Testament compositions whenever they could.<sup>24</sup>

As the prophetic scenes metamorphosed into Gospel ones, they sometimes retained traces which recall their origins. Appended to the Presentation at Voroneț is a youth disrobing to bathe in a stream of water that flows into the scene from the right. His presence must have been elicited by the residue of the Red Sea as the model because he has no significant connection with the normal iconography of the Presentation. Voroneț also has an intermediary step in the transformation of the Peaceable Kingdom. The Virgin and Child in its Nativity are joined there by a horse, an ox, and a lion—the last a remnant of the original herd described by Isaias.

What happened to the Celebration and the Peaceable Kingdom in the Eastern Trees also happened to many of the other original scenes. At Arilje, Salonika, and the Lavra the Expulsion of Heliodorus became a portrait of the mounted Archangel Michael by the omission of the stricken general and the two other horses' heads; at Voroneț Heliodorus has been separated from the mounted avenger, given a ladder, and thus transformed into the dreaming Jacob. The *crucifixus* in Amos' Prophecy of the Crucifixion was included to relate his prediction of the darkening of the earth to its fulfillment in the New Testament. The elimination of the sun and moon

<sup>23</sup> PL, 24, col. 147 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Taylor, "Prophetic Scenes," 413 ff

from this scene, as at Prizren and the Lavra, left no allusion to prophecy, only to the historical event itself. The obscurity of Nahum's prophecy—"Behold upon the mountains the feet of him that bringeth good tidings and that preacheth peace"—combined with the original character of its illustration as it is preserved at Orvieto, led inevitably to its conversion to an Ascension at Voroneț, and its elimination in favor of a scene of Christ above Four Mountains at the Lavra and possibly at Salonika, too.<sup>25</sup> Malachias and the angel, again partly because this subject was so rarely represented, were turned into Moses with the tablets before an angel at both the Lavra and Voroneț.

A more radical kind of alteration involved substituting a subject that is unrelated visually as well as textually. The Trees at the Lavra and in Romania all have an illustration of God's command to Jacob to go into Egypt (Gen. 46:3f.) instead of the Testament of Moses.<sup>26</sup> The Romanian group also has the Promise of the Second Coming in place of the original Fountain from the House of the Lord, while in the analogous position Dečani and perhaps the Lavra have the Destruction of Sodom.<sup>27</sup>

Even scenes which retain the original subject may show subtle iconographical changes. The woman in labor—"she that travaileth"—underscores the dependence of the Blessing of Bethlehem on a prophetic text (Mich. 5:1-3). Omitting her in the Eastern Trees leaves only an inscription to identify the scene there as the related Cursing of Jerusalem.<sup>28</sup> At Voroneț the candle is omitted from the illustration of Ps. 84:12, raising the possibility that the iconography has been misunderstood. The story of Gideon and the Fleece is shown in two episodes at Orvieto: the wringing of the wet fleece and the bidding that the fleece be left dry while its surroundings be wet with dew. In all the Eastern Trees only the wringing is shown.<sup>29</sup>

The relationships between the prophetic scenes at Orvieto and their counterparts in the Eastern Jesse Trees leave no doubt of the Italian version's priority for the reconstruction of the archetype. Wherever direct comparisons are possible, they reveal that Orvieto's scenes maintain the full imagery of the underlying prophetic passage. In glaring contrast, the scenes in the best Eastern versions of the Tree show numerous departures from what must be regarded as the original iconographies. Some of these changes are not very consequential, amounting to no more than the elimination of a figure or supporting episode, but others are extraordinarily far-reaching. The many metamorphoses from Old to New Testament, combined with some of the interpolations, come close to converting this from a Tree of Jesse with supporting prophecies to one incorporating scenes of their fulfillment. Each of the Orvietan scenes depends on a text which is genuinely prophetic of Christ. The Miracle of the Fleece, the Stone Cut without Hands, the Blessing of Bethlehem, Truth and Justice, the Angel of the Testament, and the Prophecy of the Crucifixion allude to the immediate circumstances of the incarnation and the historical life of Christ. The Anointing of David, the Star out of Jacob, the

<sup>25</sup> *Idem*, "Three Local Motifs in Moldavian Trees of Jesse, with an Excursus on the Liturgical Basis of the Exterior Mural Programs," *RESEE*, 12 (1974) (hereafter Taylor, "Moldavian Trees"), 267 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Henry, "L'arbre de Jessé," 6 note 1.

<sup>27</sup> Taylor, "Moldavian Trees," 267 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Henry, "L'arbre de Jessé," 4; Nava, *op. cit.* (note 6 *supra*), 371.

<sup>29</sup> Taylor, "Prophetic Scenes," 414.

Testament of Moses, and the Vision of Ezechiel concern Christ's legitimacy as the Messiah, His heritage, and His earlier manifestations on earth. Finally, Balaam and the Ass, the Celebration of the Israelites, the Fountain from the House of the Lord, the Peaceable Kingdom, the Prophecy of Nahum, and the Expulsion of Heliodorus refer to the church founded by Christ.<sup>30</sup> No such consistency or focus characterizes groups of scenes in any of the Eastern specimens.

Even if Orvieto is the best single replica of the original, certain details in the Eastern Trees raise the possibility that it is not a perfect one. Specifically, they suggest that the archetype had three, not two, scenes on each side of David; a slightly different order of scenes on the left side of the Tree; and no acanthus roundels circumscribing Gabriel or the prophet opposite him. The Three Hebrews in the Furnace of Fire (Dan. 3:15ff.) and the Prophecy of the Queen of Saba (3 Kings 10:1ff.) are two subjects which appear frequently in the East but are not found at Orvieto. Both fit the framework of ideas established in the other original scenes. That the youths were not consumed by flames could be an allegory of the unchanged virginity of Mary, or it could be understood as an allusion to Christ's sacrifice; the Queen's visit and praise of Solomon prefigured the adherence of Christ's church to Him.<sup>31</sup> Considerable evidence suggests that the first of these was on the left side of the archetype, next to the Anointing. It is there in the example at the Lavra and in the Romanian Trees. The placement of the Queen's Prophecy opposite the illustration of Ps. 84:12 in these Trees probably reflects the archetypal order. Beneath it would have been the Blessing of Bethlehem and the Prophecy of Nahum, opposite the Expulsion and the Peaceable Kingdom, just where they, or their counterparts, are in the Eastern versions. Finally, to balance the Three Hebrews, the Vision of Ezechiel must have been to the right of Balaam and the Ass, where it is at Voroneț.

These departures from the archetypal scheme at Orvieto resulted from making the image conform to the long, narrow, rectangular proportions of the panel. The sculptors had to trim the width and extend the height of their model. Therefore, they eliminated the Three Hebrews, sacrificed the Queen of Saba, and moved the Vision of Ezechiel to the vertical column of scenes on the left. To extend their Tree further, they put the pagans in two rows and enclosed Gabriel and Isaias in roundels at the top.<sup>32</sup>

*Ancestors and Prophets.* There is little doubt about the roles which the many other figures play in the Tree, but one cannot always associate a proper name with each individual. Jesse, the Virgin, and Christ pose no problems of course. The first king is David, holding a lyre at Orvieto. Undoubtedly he is followed by Solomon and Roboam, because in every Tree where inscriptions are legible these two succeed David (at Dečani their order is reversed by careless labeling). There is so much variation among the next three figures that it is impossible to ascertain who they might have been in the archetype. Henry believed that the twelve patriarchs flanking the kings at Voroneț reflected the original state of the iconog-

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 410ff.

<sup>31</sup> PL, 167, col. 1505ff.; 11, col. 525f.; 113, col. 601f.

<sup>32</sup> The single prophets who lean against the topmost roundels were surely added at this time.

raphy.<sup>33</sup> There is much reason to doubt this, however. At the Lavra, where there is a much clearer separation of various groups, they are identified only as ancestors of Christ. Additionally, of the twelve, Matthew names only Judas, and because there appear to be places only for ancestors on his list, the patriarchs ought to be viewed as a late interpolation.

The sculptors distinguished the pairs of figures leaning on the roundels very clearly from all others. They are nearly as separate at the Lavra, where almost every one is inscribed with the name of a prophet. There is sufficient reason, therefore, to conclude that there were twenty-four prophets in the archetype, two next to each scene above David's level.

Earlier the twelve pairs of full and half figures on the sides of the Tree of Jesse at Orvieto were identified as the apostles teaching, blessing, or confessing. In this same area of the Eastern Trees one finds only ancestors. Ancestors, the remaining twenty listed by Matthew, were probably in the archetype as well. If it had teaching apostles as Orvieto does, the Eastern painters would not have turned them into ancestors, especially given their predisposition for Gospel subjects.

*Pagans.* Twelve pagans in a row, six on either side of Jesse, have been indicated in the archetype. In this position they approximate the arrangement of the lower sections of Orvieto's Tree, although there the figures are in twin rows—surely a result of the sculptors' accommodations to the pier's proportions, as I discussed earlier. That these figures should be identified as pagans is abundantly clear from the Eastern images: eleven of them have pagans named by inscriptions.<sup>34</sup> A sibyl, Plato, and Aristotle appear in almost all of them; Plutarch, Pythagoras, and Homer are in many; and Thucydides, Sophocles, Solon, Socrates, and possibly Euripides are in some. Infrequent or unique representatives of antiquity are Philo, Cleanthes, Galen, Lisitis, Aristophanes, and Diogenes. It is also true that this tradition shows occasional signs of decay. In certain Trees only fragments recall the original names: *Thudik*, *Omir*, and *Pitagor* are sometimes what remain of Thucydides, Homer, and Pythagoras. One despairs of finding acceptable origins for *Astakoe*, *Zmovagl*, *Gulid*, and *Umid*. Despite these anomalies

<sup>33</sup> Henry, "L'arbre de Jessé," 26.

<sup>34</sup> The more readily decipherable names in each set are, at the Lavra: Philo, Cleanthes, Solon, *Dialid*, Pythagoras, Socrates, Homer, Aristotle, Galen, Sibyl, Plato, and Plutarch; at Prizren: Sibyl, Plato, Plutarch; at Humor: *Pivo*..., *Thudik*, Plutarch, and *Z...aragd*; at Moldovița: *Astakoe*, Plutarch, Plato, Sibyl, Aristotle, *Thudi*, *Omir*; at Suceava: Homer, Plutarch, Socrates, *Gulid*, Aristotle, *SIman*, *Thudik*, *Zmovagl*; at Voroneț: *Zmovagl*, Aristotle, Plato, *Pivogor*, Socrates, *Thgilid*; at Sucevița: Porphyrios, *Goliud*, *Umid*, *Vason*, *Ason*, *Astakoe*, *Udin*, *Selum*, Sophocles, Plato, Aristotle, *Pitagor*, Sibyl, Saul; at Cetățuia: Sibyl, Sophocles, Thucydides, Aristotle, Josephus, Plato, Solon; at Arbanasi: Homer, Aristotle, Galen, Sibyl, Plato, Plutarch, Lisitis, *Astakor*, Solon, *Zialigis*, Pythagoras, and Socrates; and at Bačkovo: Sibyl, Plato, Plutarch, Hokyaros, Aristotle, Galen, Aristophanes, Odoneristos, Diogenes, *Ariklos*, *Kleomian*, and Socrates. The pagans have attracted philological as well as art-historical attention. To the bibliography given already for individual monuments and in Dujčev, *op. cit.*, notes 1–6, there should be added the following studies: A. Baumstark, "Die Wandgemälde in der Kirche des Kreuzesklosters bei Jerusalem," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1 (1908), 771 ff.; G. de Francovich, *Benedetto Antelami* (Milan-Florence, 1952), I, 213 ff. note 245; G. Nandriș, "Contribution à l'étude de la peinture murale de Lavra," *Le millénaire du Mont Athos*, II (Venice-Chevetogne, 1965), 267 ff.; J. Kronjäger, "Berühmte Griechen und Römer als Begleiter der Musen und der Artes Liberales in Bildzyklen des 2. bis 14. Jahrhunderts" (Diss. Philipps-Universität, Marburg/Lahn, 1973), 57 ff.; M. Achimastou-Potamianou, Τὸ πρόβλημα μιᾶς μορφῆς ἑλληνος φιλοσόφου, in Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἑτ., ser. 4, 6 (1972), 67 ff.; N. Davidović-Radovanović, "Sibila carica etiopska u živopisu Bogorodice Ljeviške," *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti*, 9 (1973), 29 ff.; A. Wasserstein, "Byzantine Iconographical Prescriptions in a Jerusalem Manuscript," *BZ*, 66 (1973), 383 ff.

there is little doubt that the groups stem from a tradition which enabled prominent representatives of pagan antiquity—seers, poets, and philosophers—to be part of this type of Jesse Tree.

They have been included because they are prophets of distinctively Christian events. At Moldovița and Voroneț Plato holds a scroll which reads (roughly translated): “Christ is born of Mary; I believe in Him. At the time of Constantine and Helena. . . .” A sibyl shares Plato’s remarkable foresight and devotion; at Voroneț she says, “God is shown for those who did not believe,” while at Sucevița her scroll reads, “God has appeared to us as man and as God, He who has been to Hell and before whom one trembles.” Amidst the other thirteen pagans at Sucevița there is one labeled *Goliud*, and he asserts: “In the beginning God, then the Word, and the Spirit was raised above all.”<sup>35</sup> Everywhere else that inscriptions are legible one finds a similar content and often identical words.

Our knowledge of the literary tradition to which these prophetic utterances belong is owed primarily to A. von Premerstein.<sup>36</sup> Its ultimate source, he showed, was a text formulated shortly before 560. From this there derived an extensive group of writings, whose most influential representative is called the *Prophecies of the Seven Sages*. In turn, the *Prophecies* spawned the inscriptions on the Trees and the legends assigned the pagans by Dionysios of Fournas and the Romanian authors of painters’ manuals.<sup>37</sup> Allowing for textual variations, the *Prophecies* recounts that six or seven wise men (Aristotle, Thucydides, Plutarch, Menander, Bias, Solon, Chilon or Philo, and Plato are those regularly mentioned) gathered at a temple in Athens to learn its future or the meaning of its dedication to an “unknown god.” There ensued phrases, sometimes attributed to Apollo, of exactly the same type and usually in the same words as those carried by the pagans in the Jesse Trees—proclamations of the trinitarian nature of God, the incarnation of the Logos, and the immaculate Virgin.<sup>38</sup>

The connection between the pagans in the Jesse Trees and the tradition of the *Prophecies of the Seven Sages* cannot be doubted. In fact, there is an interesting iconographical detail which was first analyzed by Grecu and traced in this textual tradition by Premerstein and which documents it visually.<sup>39</sup> In his chronicle (810–14) Theophanes reported that near the Long Walls of Thrace was found a pagan sarcophagus which contained an inscription forecasting that Christ would be born of the Virgin and that the tomb would be opened during the reigns of Emperor Constantine and Empress Irene (780–97).<sup>40</sup> Theophanes’ report gained wide circula-

<sup>35</sup> Ștefănescu, *Nouvelles recherches*, 160f.

<sup>36</sup> A. von Premerstein, “Griechisch-heidnische Weise als Verkünder christlicher Lehre in Handschriften und Kirchenmalereien,” *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Vienna, 1926), 647ff.; *idem*, “Neues zu den apokryphen Heilsprophezeiungen heidnischer Philosophen in Literatur und Kirchenkunst,” *BNJbb*, 9 (1932), 338ff.; also Dujčev, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

<sup>37</sup> Dionysios of Fournas, *Manuel d’iconographie chrétienne*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kérameus (St. Petersburg, 1909), 82ff.; V. Grecu, “Darstellungen altheidnischer Denker und Schriftsteller in der Kirchenmalerei des Morgenlandes,” *BSHAcRoum*, 11 (1924) (published separately), 27ff.

<sup>38</sup> Premerstein, “Griechisch-heidnische Weise,” 656ff.

<sup>39</sup> Grecu, *op. cit.*, 59; Premerstein, “Heilsprophezeiungen,” 343.

<sup>40</sup> *Theophanis, Chronographia*, Bonn ed., I (1839), 704. Also C. Mango, “A Forged Inscription of the Year 781,” *ZVI*, 8,1 (1963), 201ff.

tion; Thomas Aquinas even quoted its peculiar details.<sup>41</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that literature of the *Prophecies* type assimilated it also. Apparently, as the motif entered this textual tradition, the tomb became identified as Plato's. There are two expressions of this in the Jesse Trees: Plato often utters, by holding a scroll, the prophecy of Christ's birth which mentions Constantine and Irene, as we have seen already at Moldovița and Voroneț (Irene having been transformed into Helena); and Plato takes as his attribute a diminutive, open sarcophagus with a skeleton in it—at Sucevița (fig. 26), at Moldovița, and at Voroneț. This tradition, the migration of a distinctive motif from Theophanes to the *Prophecies* and thence to Jesse Trees and painters' manuals, allows us to identify the prominent sarcophagus amidst the pagans at Orvieto. It is Plato's tomb, his attribute in the archetype, now mistakenly enlarged.

Although reference to the *Prophecies* confirms the evidence of the inscriptions on the Eastern Trees and thus securely identifies this group as pagan prophets of Christ, it does not help us learn either precisely who each figure was, excepting the sibyl and Plato, or even exactly how many figures there were. In fact, attempts to answer these questions suggest that the relationship between the prophetic image and its literary referent must have been a loose, flexible one. The *Prophecies* text indicates only six or seven pagans, yet most of the Trees have, or had before physical damage, many more than that. Sucevița and Suceava have fourteen; Orvieto has thirteen; the Lavra, Arbanasi, and Bačkovo have twelve; and Moldovița has ten. An observable effect of this expansion from text to image is that certain prophecies had to be divided between more than one pagan representative.<sup>42</sup> Possibly related to this phenomenon is the indiscriminate distribution of the sayings to individual pagans. For example, the sibyl at Bačkovo holds an inscription that is given to the mysterious *Zialigis* at Arbanasi; *Hokyaros* in the former has the inscription of Homer in the latter;<sup>43</sup> and this list could be extended considerably. Still another kind of discrepancy between text and image is in the naming of pagans in each. Plato and Aristotle appear in both regularly, and there is a fair amount of congruence for Thucydides and Plutarch. However, divergence is profound beyond this point. Pythagoras, Homer, Sophocles, and Socrates appear in the Trees, but they are never named as sages. The sibyl who appears in every Tree where there are pagans and in the painters' manuals has but an occasional place in some of the literature. Equally significant, Menander and Bias are part of the literary tradition, but they are never in the Trees. To reiterate the point made before: these differences do not deny a relationship between the literature and the iconography, but they do signify that it was a loose one.

With this in mind, we may concentrate on the evidence for number and name which the Trees themselves provide. The number was surely an even one in order to balance the pagans on either side of Jesse, and in all probability it was moderately large, if only to fill out the available space. Twelve is probably correct, and

<sup>41</sup> *Summa Theologiae*, pt. II-II, q. 2, a. 7.

<sup>42</sup> Premerstein, "Heilsprophezeiungen," 364ff.

<sup>43</sup> I. Dujčev, "Nouvelles données sur les peintures des philosophes et des écrivains païens à Bačkovo," *RESEE*, 9 (1971), 392ff.

the Lavra must offer a substantially accurate picture of their arrangement in the archetype. It has six on either side, two for each prophetic scene immediately above.<sup>44</sup> A sibyl and Plato must have been in the original. Aristotle and possibly Plutarch, Pythagoras, and Homer are other likely candidates, but to go beyond this or even to insist strongly on these latter names would be pointless speculation.<sup>45</sup>

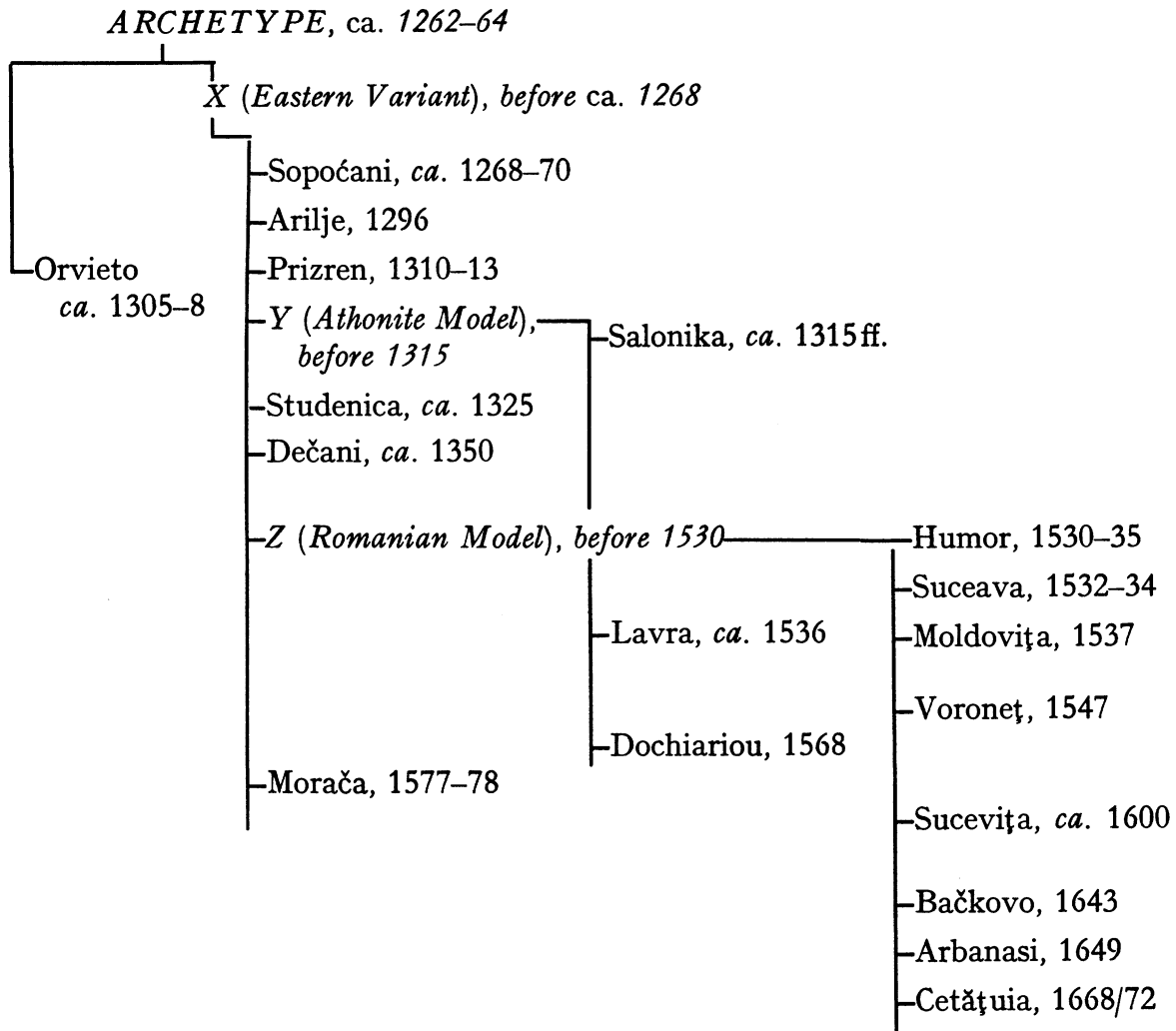
The twelve pagans complete this picture of the archetypal Tree, and it is now apparent that numbers, as well as the basic genealogical and prophetic content, modulated its design. With the exception of the total number of ancestors which is stipulated by the genealogy, three is the factor of almost all the remaining portions. The principal figures of Isaias' prophecy, Jesse, the Virgin, and Christ, are three. Twice three yields the numbers of the kings and of the ancestors on each side of them; four times three, the number of pagans; six times three, the number of prophetic scenes; and eight times three the number of prophets. Surely the creators of the Tree would have maintained that the divisibility of so many of the work's components by three was a reference to the Trinity. It is also possible that this use of numbers aided the ordering of the various parts of this complicated scheme in much the same way that subsidiary arguments are ordered and enumerated in scholastic discourse.

*Stemma.* The logic which has permitted this reconstruction of the archetype also reveals the relationships of the extant Trees to it and to one another, and these may be summarized in a stemma (fig. A).

A separate linkage of Orvieto and the Eastern Trees to the archetype is supported by a number of observations. Clearly, neither Sopoćani nor Arilje, both of which precede Orvieto's Tree in time, could have been its model, for the simple reason that they are too reduced. Furthermore, none of the later Eastern Trees could reflect a model, other than the archetype itself, that also served at Orvieto. As has been demonstrated, Orvieto preserves a thoroughly prophetic group of scenes which have no detectable metamorphoses. In the few instances where direct comparisons can be made with the Trees at Sopoćani and Arilje, one can see that it is the sculpture which has the most accurate transcription of the original subject. For example, the Miracle of the Fleece at Sopoćani (fig. 9) shows only one of Gideon's requests, in accordance with the treatment of the scene in other Eastern Trees, but this is a simplification of the elaborate treatment, two requests, at Orvieto. In all the Eastern Trees the star prophesied by Balaam is a mandorla, not the star which appears at Orvieto as a literal adaptation of the text; also, in all the Eastern Trees Balaam rides rather than stands behind his ass as he does at Orvieto, and, in all likelihood, in the archetype. Were Sopoćani's Tree not in such miserable condition, it is virtually certain that this list could be augmented. It seems highly probable, for example, that the metamorphosis of the Peaceable Kingdom into a Nativity was a characteristic of all the Eastern versions. It is even probable that the Celebration of the Israelites had become, or was well on its way to becoming, a Presentation there. Although one cannot say for certain

<sup>44</sup> When there are fourteen figures standing beneath the Tree, the group can be too large, as it is at Sucevița.

<sup>45</sup> The notion that the pagans should be beside the Tree instead of below it is hardly worth arguing against, but Henry, "L'arbre de Jessé," 29, seemed to favor the arrangement at Voroneț over that at the Lavra. He did not, however, have the benefit of Orvieto's evidence.



A. Stemma

what the artist at Sopoćani had in mind due to the condition of the frescoes, it is obvious that the iconography of this part of the Tree no longer resembles the original completely: the child has been omitted (instead there is a bust near the feet of Moses) and Mary the Prophetess has lost her timbrel. Just as there is no possibility that the sculptors depended on one of the other extant replicas, there seems no chance of the reverse either. In no Tree but Orvieto's have the ancestors at the tips of the branches been converted to apostles.

The same features which distinguish the Eastern Trees from Orvieto's also suggest that there was only one principal variation of the archetypal scheme, here X, which links them all to it. This Eastern variant had to have been a very full work, similar to the Tree at the Lavra in its general character. Together with its complement of ancestors and pagans at the base, it had the modifications and simplifications of the prophetic scenes which have just been described. The Serbian Trees must be linked to X without the mediation of any mutually common models. The diversity of their forms, the degree of transformation that occurs in individual

specimens, and the unfortunate condition of Sopoćani have obscured any indications of intermediaries, even if they existed once. On the other hand, a common model (Y) has been postulated for the Trees in Salonika and at the Lavra and Dochiariou. The first two resemble one another in many ways, but the most specific link is the conversion of the Expulsion of Heliodorus into a mounted Archangel Michael. The trees in the two Athonite monasteries are linked in turn by an illustration of Ps. 84:12, which has been reduced to a balance in heaven and a candle on earth. These relationships point to the existence of a common model for the three which had most of the characteristics of the example at the Lavra. Specific features included the mounted Archangel and the simplified Truth and Justice scene.

The Romanian Trees have a common model (Z).<sup>46</sup> Special features of this model would have been an Annunciation of the Second Coming instead of Joel's Prophecy of a Fountain, an Ascension instead of the Prophecy of Nahum, and, perhaps, the patriarchs of the twelve tribes of Israel next to the kings. Notwithstanding these alterations of the original, Z had certain elements that were closer to the archetype than their counterparts in Y. Its Presentation, judging from the Tree at Voroneț, still had traces of the water of the Red Sea; unusual animals in its Nativity confirm that scene's heritage in the Peaceable Kingdom; and some of these Trees still have Plato's identifying sarcophagus. Henry's assertion that Voroneț has the most representative iconography of the group can be accepted with minor reservations.<sup>47</sup> Z certainly had pagans at the base, where they are at Sucevița, not along the sides; and Z's scene of the Descent into Egypt was probably more like that at Moldovița (fig. 24) than Voroneț, for it preserves an exterior setting.

Although Henry considered only the five Romanian Trees of the sixteenth century, it seems that the one at Cetățuia and the two in Bulgaria also derived from basically the same variant. Cetățuia's has only a balance, held by Christ, in the Truth and Justice scene; as in Henry's group the candle has been eliminated. Arbanasi's Tree has an Annunciation of the Second Coming, a scene which characterizes Z's dependents, and Bačkovo's has a scene of two busts of Christ above the Virgin and two companions, surely a debased version of the same iconography.

*Localization.* Although all but one of the replicas are paintings in Eastern Europe, the preceding analysis strongly supports a Western European origin for the archetype. Orvieto's Tree is the best reflection of the original, and it is especially good in the most intricate, easily altered parts—the prophetic scenes. These were subjected to so many extensive changes in the East that they redefine the image radically. Had the archetype arisen in an Orthodox environment, it seems very unlikely that all versions of it there, including our earliest witnesses of it, would be so distant from it, while a Western copy would be so fundamentally accurate. It would also be difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the deterioration of the physical structure of the Tree, hinted by Sopoćani and fully realized at Arilje and Prizren, with an Eastern origin. And last, the stemma shows that all of the Eastern replicas may be traced back to the archetype through a single intermediary, X. Had the archetype itself been

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 27 ff., and *passim*.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 27 ff.

Eastern, there would have been multiple Eastern branches. Were it Western, on the other hand, X would represent that version of it which crossed the Adriatic, first to Serbia, and from there to other Orthodox regions farther east.<sup>48</sup>

It is true, of course, that the pagans owe their presence to a Greek textual tradition. Orvieto and the archetypal Tree are the only sure indications that this tradition was known in the West.<sup>49</sup> But only if one were certain that Catholic Europe did not know the *Prophecies* could one argue for an alternative, Eastern provenance for the image. There is no such certainty, especially in the thirteenth century. In fact, it might have been the very foreignness of the textual tradition which fostered its weak connection with the image, so that the pagans correspond well neither by number nor by name in the two. There is, in fact, indirect confirmation of this hypothesis. At the Ivron monastery the *Prophecies* served as the source of a sequence of pagan prophets which is not part of a Tree of Jesse, and there the correspondence between text and painting is much higher.<sup>50</sup>

As I stated at the beginning of this study, there did exist in the West a tradition of using some pagans as prophets. The Jesse Tree in the Ingeburg Psalter includes a sibyl who may reflect the influence of the pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos*.<sup>51</sup> She appears, too, on a Romanesque pulpit in Sessa Aurunca, at the Cathedral of Laon, and later in the sculpture of Nicola Pisano and his son Giovanni.<sup>52</sup> Surviving Eastern monuments of contemporary dates offer no parallel for this interest. Only with the migration of this Jesse Tree to the East do the pagans seem to have been introduced to Orthodox artists. Indeed, the surprising popularity of the sibyl in Eastern groups of pagans might very well derive from this archetype in which she was added to an assembly of male philosophers and seers.<sup>53</sup>

Artistic tradition as well favors a Western European origin for the work. The *genus* Jesse Tree was known in the West as early as the eleventh century.<sup>54</sup> From that time it had an extraordinary popularity, and it may be found in manuscripts, stained glass, sculpture, and even on painted ceilings. As it was used, it was often modified to enhance its meaning. An especially interesting example is the Tree in

<sup>48</sup> V. R. Petković, *La peinture serbe du moyen âge*, II (Belgrade, 1934), 7; and G. Millet and T. Velmans, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie*, fasc. 4 (Paris, 1969), xxi, have maintained the Western origin of the iconography of the Tree of Jesse.

<sup>49</sup> Three pagans, a sibyl, Plato, and Aristotle, do appear in the group of prophets Giovanni Pisano sculpted for the façade of Siena's Duomo: H. Keller, "Die Bauplastik des Sieneser Doms," *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana (Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte)*, 1 (1937), 157. Keller justifies them with reference to Dionysios of Fournia, but Giovanni's immediate source could well have been the archetype or a version of the *Prophecies*-type text which the Tree's creators employed.

<sup>50</sup> N. A. Bees, "Darstellungen altheidnischer Denker und Autoren in der Kirchenmalerei der Griechen," *BNJbb*, 4 (1923), 121f.; K. Spetsieris, Εἰκόνες Ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφων εἰς ἐκκλησίας, in Ἐπιστ. Ἐπ. Φιλ. Σχ. Ἀθ., ser. 2, 14 (1963-64), 401ff.

<sup>51</sup> Deuchler, *op. cit.* (note 3 *supra*), 32ff.

<sup>52</sup> C. D. Sheppard, Jr., "A Chronology of Romanesque Sculpture in Campania," *ArtB*, 32 (1950), 319ff., fig. 12; G. Swarzenski, *Nicola Pisano* (Frankfurt, 1926), 34, pl. 40; Keller, *op. cit.*, 180; also M. Ayrton, *Giovanni Pisano, Sculptor* (New York, 1969), 126ff.; Watson, *Early Iconography* (note 1 *supra*), 169f.

<sup>53</sup> Premerstein, "Heilsprophezeiungen," 371ff.; *idem*, "Griechisch-heidnische Weise," 662f., notes that in Paris gr. 400, dated 1344, the prophets and the sibyl are connected with a Jesse Tree. This indicates that the basic formulation of the archetype of this series had imposed itself on a later phase of the same textual tradition from which its creators drew.

<sup>54</sup> Watson, *Early Iconography*, *passim*.

the Lambeth Bible, which has roundels illustrating Ps. 84. The illumination cannot be connected with the one at Orvieto except as a striking parallelism, one which involves the same association of texts and images that occurred when the archetype of this series was created; this parallel is a Western one.<sup>55</sup> In contrast, there is no evidence of a Tree of Jesse in the Byzantine or Orthodox world until near the time when this Tree was taken to Serbia. Outside of this group there are Trees only at Kastoria and Trebizond, hardly enough to reveal a flourishing tradition, and in subsequent centuries the iconography was still uncommon.<sup>56</sup>

Because of its complex iconography, one's first thought might be that this Tree of Jesse had to come from northern Europe, and it is true that the kind of intricate examination of the Old Testament which its scenes betray does find parallels in programs of cathedral decoration and in manuscripts like the *Bibles moralisées*.<sup>57</sup> However, there is not one bit of evidence which sustains such suspicions. The testimony of the monument itself points to Italy, and this conclusion will be supported later by indications that the site of creation was Orvieto. The only extant replica in the West is at Orvieto, not in northern Europe. The use of an acanthus vine is more an Italian solution to problems of organization than a northern one. Thus, for example, in the Tree of Life in S. Clemente in Rome (1128) an acanthus vine springs from a plant on the main axis of the apse and forms a vast array of roundels containing paradisiacal motifs. So, too, the thirteenth-century Coronation of the Virgin by Torriti in the apse of S. Maria Maggiore is set against dual acanthus vines of this same type.<sup>58</sup> The origins of this tradition are, of course, Early Christian, and revived interest in this heritage is witnessed not only by these two monuments, but by the lost thirteenth-century mural programs for both St. Peter's and St. Paul's.<sup>59</sup> An organized vine form very similar to this Jesse Tree did exist in the early centuries of Christianity, as Nasta has shown by associating a fifth- to seventh-century floor mosaic in Jerusalem with it.<sup>60</sup> An Italian counterpart of this mosaic or a later medieval replica could have had a crucial role in the formulation of the archetype of this series. Finally, it seems likely that the archetype was formulated as a wall painting. This would coincide with a subject that is too grandiose for miniature painting and too broad for windows. In all likelihood the Tree in the

<sup>55</sup> Dodwell, *op. cit.* (note 4 *supra*), 88ff., pl. 59a.

<sup>56</sup> S. Pelekanides, *Καστορία*, I (Thessalonica, 1953), 28, pl. 85; his early dating is rectified by N. C. Moutsopoulos, *The Monastery of the Virgin Mary Mavriotissa at Castoria* (Athens, 1967), 81f.; D. Talbot Rice, ed., *The Church of Haghia Sophia at Trebizond* (Edinburgh, 1968), 152f. The Spaniard Clavijo mentions a Tree of Jesse in the cloister of St. Mary Peribleptos in Constantinople which he saw in 1403; it may be early Palaeologan in origin: C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., n.d.), 217f. In the eastern Mediterranean, but a Crusader, not Orthodox, undertaking, the Tree in the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (completed 1169) might have sparked this limited Eastern interest in the form: Watson, *Early Iconography*, 152.

<sup>57</sup> A. de Laborde, *La Bible moralisée illustrée* (Paris, 1911-27).

<sup>58</sup> G. Matthiae, *Mosaici medioevali delle chiese di Roma* (Rome, 1967), 279ff., 355ff., pls. 228ff., 293ff.; S. Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom* (Munich, 1964), 31f., 50.

<sup>59</sup> Matthiae, *op. cit.*, 327ff., 337ff.; Waetzoldt, *op. cit.*, 66ff., 64. Of special interest in this connection is H. Toubert, "Le renouveau paléochrétien à Rome au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *CahArch*, 20 (1970), 99ff., esp. 122ff.

<sup>60</sup> A. Nasta, "Sources orientales dans l'iconographie sud-est européenne. L'arbre de Jessé," *Actes du Congrès international des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes* (Sofia, 1966), 899ff. Partly because Nasta weighs surface structure so heavily, her final conclusions are radically different from mine.

Lavra recaptures much of the original's general appearance, and its size and shape make a heritage in fresco more reasonable than in any other medium. Italian churches more than northern ones had suitable wall surfaces.<sup>61</sup> The physical evidence, as far as it leads, points to Italy.<sup>62</sup>

*Date.* If very little could be learned of the background of the archetypal Tree, it would be satisfactory to assign it a date around the sixth decade of the thirteenth century and let that suffice, but there are strong reasons, given in the succeeding part of this study, to believe that its creation occurred around 1262–64. The evidence of the extant replicas appears to permit this dating, although it is not as free of potential contradictions as one could hope.

The paintings in the narthex at Sopoćani are the terminus ante quem. Unfortunately, they are not datable with absolute precision. Nonetheless, recent opinion has favored an origin in the mid-1260's to early 1270's. S. Mandić's identification of one of the figures in the apse as Sava II, placing that part of the work after 1262, is the most important contribution to the problem. In line with his conclusions Djurić has argued for a completion between 1263 and 1268, while Demus and Winfield seem inclined to push some of the painting into the next decade.<sup>63</sup> All but the most stringent applications of these datings, which are estimations anyway, would permit the *ca.* 1262–64 dating of the archetypal Tree proposed here. We may assume a version of the scheme, X, crossed the Adriatic soon after.

## MEANING

A definition of the meaning of the first historiated Jesse Tree of this type—in terms of the Church doctrines it upholds—ought to indicate more precisely the importance it had for its creators and, perhaps, more about who some of them might have been.

Whatever its species, a Tree of Jesse is a material assertion of the doctrine of the incarnation. It is meant to demonstrate that Jesus Christ possessed a full human nature, including a real human body and a human soul, and that he was born in this nature from his mother the Virgin Mary.<sup>64</sup> This human person of Christ was joined

<sup>61</sup> The possibility that the archetype could have been a ceiling painting, as for example at Hildesheim (J. Sommer, *Das Deckenbild der Michaeliskirche zu Hildesheim* [Hildesheim, 1966], 43, 45), can be ruled out because that location would have imposed a severely geometrical internal structure, not unlike that necessitated by stained glass windows.

<sup>62</sup> Not to be overlooked are other well-known uses of a tree as an ordering structure in other occidental domains, in the *Speculum virginum* (E. S. Greenhill, *Die geistigen Voraussetzungen der Bilderreihe des Speculum virginum*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters. Texte und Untersuchung, 39,2 [Münster, 1962]); illustrations of Bonaventure's *Lignum vitae* (R. Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting*, sect. 3,2, pt. 1 [Berlin-New York, 1930], pl. 2); the *Arbores* of Joachim of Fiore (M. Reeves, "The *Arbores* of Joachim of Fiore," *BSR*, 24, n.s. 11 [1956], 124ff.); or even the trees of the faithful that grow from Christ's wounded side (the Apocalyptic Christ) in the pulpits of Nicola and Giovanni Pisano (Ayrton, *op. cit.*, pl. 24; Swarzenski, *op. cit.*, 35, pl. 32).

<sup>63</sup> Mandić's contribution, which was not available to me, has been incorporated in subsequent discussions of the monument; see Djurić, *Sopoćani* (note 8 *supra*), 22ff.; *idem*, *Fresken*, 54ff.; D. Winfield, "Four Historical Compositions from the Medieval Kingdom of Serbia," *Byzantinoslavica*, 19 (1958), 276f. and *passim*; O. Demus, "Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei," *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress, München 1958* (Munich, 1958), 23f., 28f., 47f.; *idem*, "The Style of the Kariye Djami and its Place in the Development of Palaeologan Art," *The Kariye Djami*, IV, ed. P. A. Underwood (Princeton, 1975), 131f.

<sup>64</sup> On the Incarnation, see A. Michel, "Incarnation," *DTC*, VII,2, col. 1445ff.; E. A. Weis, "Incarnation," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII, 413ff.

to a divine one in hypostatic union, the nature of which is a central mystery of the Church. From this doctrine, in turn, derive other Christian mysteries which are fundamental to right belief and to the institution of the Church. For there to be genuine redemption, Christ must have suffered the Passion and died on the cross as a man, the only manner which would allow a complete sacrifice. If Christ had not assumed a fully human nature, "obedient to death," as the epistle (Phil. 2: 5-8) in Holy Week states, His sacrifice would have been incomplete, an appearance or sham without efficacy for mankind.

The valid sacrifice assured by the incarnation enables a valid eucharistic celebration. Just as Christ is God and man at once, so too, according to the first canon of the fourth Lateran Council, his "body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine; the bread being changed by divine power into the body, and the wine into the blood (*transsubstantiat*), so that to realize the mystery of unity we may receive of Him what he has received of us."<sup>65</sup> Because the transubstantiation of elements could not occur without the incarnation, its denial would undermine completely the sacrament of the Mass and the Church's very reason for existence. It is not surprising, therefore, that its celebration was extended beyond the Christmas and Marian feasts to the institution of, for example, the Feast of Corpus Christi.

It is also true that many prerogatives claimed by the Church depend on a continuity of revelation and covenant between the two testaments. Thus, again according to the fourth Lateran Council, the "Holy Trinity . . . through Moses, the holy prophets, and other servants gave to the human race . . . the doctrine of salvation. And finally, Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God made flesh by the entire Trinity, conceived with the co-operation of the Holy Ghost of Mary ever Virgin, made true man, composed of a rational soul and human flesh, one Person in two natures, pointed out more clearly the way of life."<sup>66</sup> From Christ issued the sacraments of the Church, whose ministers continue the tradition of priesthood established under the old Law by Aaron and Melchizedek: "And this sacrament [the eucharist] no one can effect except the priest who has been duly ordained in accordance with the keys of the Church, which Jesus Christ Himself gave to the Apostles and their successors."<sup>67</sup>

Continuity is important because it allows the fulfillment of Messianic prophecies: that the redeemer would be of the line of David, born of a virgin, anticipated by the Baptist, rejoiced by the Gentiles, and so forth, all ideas embodied in the services of the season of Advent. The epistle for the last week of this season, Isa. 11: 1-5, is especially significant for this study. It begins, "There shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root," the verse which together with Matthew's genealogy is the foundation for the image of the Tree of Jesse.

The importance of the doctrine of the incarnation for the validity of sacrifice and redemption, for the efficacy of the sacrament, and for continuity of the biblical

<sup>65</sup> C.-J. von Hefele and H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux*, V,2 (Paris, 1913), 1324ff.; trans. H. J. Schroeder, *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils* (St. Louis-London, 1937), 238, 560.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

testaments suggests the crucial religious significance of the Tree of Jesse. As an image it demonstrates that Christ was "according to the flesh the offspring of David" by the series of ancestors from Jesse and David through the Virgin to Christ. Even the simpler Jesse Trees like that at Chartres supplement this with prophets who display excerpts from their writings affirming Christ's humanity and His descent from the kings of the Old Testament.<sup>68</sup> As we have seen, the Tree at Orvieto develops these themes by adding the pagans, enlarging the group of ancestors much beyond their customary number, and dramatizing the content of the prophets' utterances. As previously argued, the iconographical content of this species of Tree differs less in kind than in quantity from other types of Jesse Trees. Why, then, was this amplification necessary? Most likely it came as a response to a threat to the doctrine of the incarnation. The Tree must have answered the Church's demand for a more impressive and forceful demonstration of prophetic and genealogical proofs of Christ's humanity to answer this challenge. Such a threat was very real in mid-thirteenth-century Italy. It was the heretical dualism of the Cathars or Patarines, a grave concern of the Church from the second half of the twelfth until at least the first decades of the fourteenth century.<sup>69</sup>

The description of this heresy provided by the inquisitor Bernard Gui in his *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, ca. 1323 or 1324, is especially convenient, not only for its clarity and brevity, but also because it appears to reflect the kind of propaganda that was circulated for the popular mind and heart.<sup>70</sup> Gui begins his dissertation by calling the Cathars "Manichaeans of the present time," and then he states the substance of their dualism. They, he says, "declare and confess that there are two gods and two lords, to wit, a beneficent God and an evil one. They assert that the creation of everything visible and corporeal was wrought, not by God the Heavenly Father, whom they term the beneficent God, but by the devil, or Satan. Thus, they postulate two creators, namely God and the devil; and two creations, that is, one invisible and incorporeal, the other visible and corporeal."<sup>71</sup> Deriving from this interpretation of creation is heretical Christology. We are told that the Cathars believe that Christ was sent to the earth in order to redeem a spiritual essence that was imprisoned in man's thoroughly evil flesh. Christ, however, did not become a man himself. Because the visible and material were corrupt, he could not assume true flesh, only its appearance. Gui continues: "They deny the incarnation of the Lord Jesus Christ through Mary, ever virgin, declaring that He did not have a true human body or true human flesh such as other men have because

<sup>68</sup> Watson, *Early Iconography*, 120ff., pl. 26.

<sup>69</sup> Twelfth- and thirteenth-century Jesse Trees which are not of this particular type might have been understood as antiheretical images, and the effort to combat heresy might have contributed to the diffusion of the subject in Western Europe. Nevertheless, it is apparent from the amplified content of this type that some patrons saw the need for a more formidable demonstration of the doctrine of the incarnation and ancestry of Christ *secundum carnem*.

<sup>70</sup> Bernard Gui, *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, ed. C. Douais (Paris, 1886), 237ff.; also A. Borst, *Die Katharer*, MGH, Schriften, 12 (Stuttgart, 1953), 25f.; G. Schmitz-Valckenberg, *Grundlehren katharischer Sekten des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1971); G. Volpe, *Movimenti religiosi e sette ereticali nella società medievale italiana, secoli XI-XIV* (Florence, 1961); H. Grundmann, *Bibliographie zur Ketzergeschichte des Mittelalters (1900-1966)* (Rome, 1967); G. Miccoli, "La storia religiosa," in *Storia d'Italia*, II,1 (Turin, 1974), 609ff.

<sup>71</sup> Gui, *op. cit.*, 237; trans. W. L. Wakefield and A. P. Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York, 1969), 379.

of their human substance, that he did not really suffer and die on the Cross, nor really rise from the dead, nor really ascend into heaven in human body and flesh, but that all these things happened only figuratively. Also, they deny that the Blessed Virgin Mary was the true mother of our Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>72</sup> Thus, this horror of the flesh, the corporeal, led to a severance of the continuity between the Old and New Testaments that was so carefully cultivated by Orthodox Christians. Not Himself a man, Christ is not a descendent of any human. Accordingly, almost all dualist heretics excised the more historical portions of the Old Testament, such as the Pentateuch, Judges, Kings, and Chronicles, from their canon of scriptures. That abhorrence of matter which denied the incarnation and the Old Testament antecedents of Christ and the Church was also bound to be exceedingly antisacerdotal in expression. If Christ's appearance on earth were nothing but that, an appearance, then ritual would have lost its miraculous core. "All the sacraments of the Roman Church of our Lord Jesus Christ—the Eucharist or sacrament of the altar, baptism which make use of actual water, confirmation, ordination, extreme unction, penance, and marriage of man and woman—each and every one they declare empty and vain."<sup>73</sup>

Of course, Gui simplified the complexities of Catharist beliefs in this work. This is especially evident if one compares his treatise to those of his mid-thirteenth-century predecessors like Moneta of Cremona, Rainerius Sacconi, and Anselm of Alexandria, all of whom recognized numerous sectarian divisions and hierarchies.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, Gui was essentially right to focus the harsh light of his scrutiny on beliefs that were widespread among the dualists: a deep antisacerdotalism, a distrust of the physical world, an unwillingness to accept a genuine continuity between the two biblical testaments, and a number of ritual procedures which may have been passed on from Eastern European antecedents. Any of these, no less than their sum, would have been sufficient to arouse the fear of the Church. Gui had to have been familiar with this variety, and thus his insistence on a unity of belief among his enemies must have been simply to comfort his coreligionists. The very fact that he calls the Patarines "Neo-Manichaeans" shows his desire to identify his enemies with dualists of the Early Christian era and to enlist Augustine and other Church Fathers in his cause. Nevertheless, even with its simplifications, it is Gui's picture that must represent the image which the orthodox faithful and hierarchy chose to see. For this reason it is the most important one for us. The kind of Jesse Tree under consideration may well have been created to counteract that image of heresy as well as the more complex reality which lay behind it.

If this Tree of Jesse were assembled for such a purpose, it would be a stroke of good fortune to find an antiheretical treatise which could have been the source for all the intricate prophetic content that was identified earlier. However, it is very

<sup>72</sup> Gui, *op. cit.*, 238f.; Wakefield and Evans, *op. cit.*, 380.

<sup>73</sup> Gui, *op. cit.*, 238; Wakefield and Evans, *op. cit.*, 379.

<sup>74</sup> Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses libri quinque* (Rome, 1743; repr. Ridgewood, N.J., 1964), 1ff.; Rainerius Sacconi, *Summa de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno*, in A. Dondaine, *Un traité néo-manichéen du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Le 'Liber duobus principiis,' suivi d'un fragment de rituel cathare* (Rome, 1939), 64ff.; A. Dondaine, "La hiérarchie cathare en Italie," *AFP*, 20 (1950), 234ff.; trans. Wakefield and Evans, *op. cit.*, 361ff. Also Schmitz-Valckenberg, *op. cit.*, 329ff.

doubtful that a formal text like Moneta of Cremona's *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses libri quinque* (ca. 1241), the best of this genre, was a direct source, although its arguments would have been known.<sup>75</sup> A single image cannot encompass the dialectical quality of a philosophical work; it cannot state the opponent's position and then attack it. An image is instead an assertion of what is felt to be the truth. And, like verbal or written assertions, it is a testimonial, confirming the convictions of those who believe already and addressing the opposition only by implication. The assertive character of the Tree of Jesse lies primarily in its reliance on the Old Testament rather than the New as the ultimate textual source for the iconographies of its many parts. For any major group of Cathars, neither this nor its constitution in paint or sculpture would be acceptable. Either the crucial Old Testament texts would have been excluded from their canon or they would have been subjected to a highly allegorical interpretation (as referring, perhaps, to a higher, mythical level of reality); additionally, material was corrupt by its own nature and images themselves forbidden.<sup>76</sup> Moneta, of course, accepts the limitations imposed by his opponent's initial position. He relies much more on proofs from the New Testament, especially the Epistle of Paul, than from the Old, and he reasons with the evidence rather than boldly presenting it as the truth. Despite the differences between theological tract and image, however, it is worthwhile to note those areas in which they appear to reflect the same concerns.

The genealogy of Matt. 1:17 at the core of the Jesse Tree could not be recognized by the heretics as anything more than a convenient fiction for earthly use. In addition, because he was thought to be a sinner, a murderer, and a disciple of the devil, the Old Testament David could not be the David cited by Matthew and other evangelists. Instead, according to the Cathars, Matthew had in mind a different, heavenly David.<sup>77</sup> Moneta answers this interpretation by showing that the allegorical conception of a spiritualized David from whom Christ descended was inconsistent with other New Testament texts, especially the discourses of Peter and Paul in Acts 2 and 13 and Luke 1:67, 69.<sup>78</sup> The latter passage, "and (the Lord) has raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of David his servant," invites as its antetype the Anointing of David, which is the second prophetic scene in the archetype. Catholic exegesis understood Samuel's selection of David as a prefiguration of God's decision to send his own son and the pairing of the two events as an allegory of the Old and New Dispensations. Moneta's insistence on the physical existence of David, the predecessor of Christ, has thus an important parallel in the iconography of the Tree.

The desire to assert Christ's earthly genealogy may have contributed to the decision to include certain of the other prophetic subjects. Surely Balaam's prophecy of the Star out of Jacob refers to this idea, and the fact that within the star there is a bust of the Christ Child may reflect the creator's desire to eliminate any doubt as to whether the prophesied redeemer was an incarnate being. In the same way, the

<sup>75</sup> Moneta, *Adv. Catharos*; Borst, *op. cit.*, 17 ff.; Schmitz-Valckenberg, *op. cit.*, 4 ff. and *passim*.

<sup>76</sup> On canons and the acceptability of biblical texts, the interpretations of Old Testament personages, and material expressions of the Church, see Schmitz-Valckenberg, *op. cit.*, 11 ff., 18 ff., 248 ff.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 34 ff. and *passim*.

<sup>78</sup> Moneta, *Adv. Catharos*, 251 ff.

interest in Moses, especially in the Testament of Moses, was stimulated by this same insistence on the descent of Christ *secundum carnem*. Moneta reveals that the text on which this scene is based, Deut. 18:15, was itself the source of much controversy between heretics and Catholics. Because the Gospels refer to the prophecy that there will arise "a prophet of thy nation and of thy brethren like unto me" (John 1:45), the Cathars felt obliged to discuss it. They argued that, since Deuteronomy calls for the Jews to follow Christ as they did Moses ("him thou shalt hear") and the Jews did not follow him, the inspiration for Moses' speech must have been diabolic. Moneta argues the conventional interpretation, and also goes on to show that the passage is still another link in the terrestrial genealogical chain between Abraham and Christ.<sup>79</sup> Likewise, in the depiction of this event at Orvieto, the presence of Christ in the sky above (not accounted for by the Bible) affirms the divine origins of this prediction.

Two of the scenes which incorporate types of Christ's life on earth, the Stone Cut without Hands and the Three Hebrews in the Furnace of Fire, are based on passages from Daniel, and both involve King Nebuchadnezzar. In the former he may be the individual starting back from the stone; it was he who ordered the burning of the three children in the latter. Moneta found the peculiar character of Nebuchadnezzar very useful in his arguments with the dualists. They understood the king to be a manifestation of the devil; it was he, after all, who had put Sidrach, Misach, and Abdenago into the furnace and who had conquered and despoiled Jerusalem. On the other hand, Nebuchadnezzar did not play this evil role exclusively, as Moneta is quick to point out. The king did recognize the god of Daniel and his companions (3:95ff.), and he was capable of penance (4:24). Such behavior makes the interpretation of the dualists untenable, and is thus an important part of Moneta's antiheretical treatise.<sup>80</sup> Given the other affinities existing between the Tree and this kind of literature, it is likely that the two scenes were included to call attention to this argument.

A similar and rather amusing part is played by Micheas' image of the Blessing of Bethlehem in Moneta's presentation. In this case Moneta notes that heretics imposed the same kind of interpretation on Bethlehem of Ephrata as they placed on Moses and David: they insisted that the place referred to was not really in this world but was on some higher level of reality. Moneta counters by asking how we should interpret Herod's instructions to the Magi. Was this sinful man directing them to a place in a higher, spiritual level of reality? *De qua Bethlehem loquitur? Numquid de caelesti; aut de terrena?*<sup>81</sup> The lesson is clear. Only acceptance of Bethlehem as a terrestrial city and of Christ's incarnation allows a consistent interpretation of the prophecy. Here again, the insertion of this prophecy into the Tree of Jesse parallels its use in important antiheretical literature.

There is another connection between the two, and in this case it seems even more sure. In the discussion of the Celebration of the Israelites I mentioned that it was highly unusual to find a scene from the Old Testament based on two texts (Exod.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 72, 176, 255; Schmitz-Valckenberg, *op. cit.*, 64.

<sup>80</sup> Moneta, *Adv. Catharos*, 507, 34f.; Schmitz-Valckenberg, *op. cit.*, 39f.

<sup>81</sup> Moneta, *Adv. Catharos*, 77.

15:1–21; Wisd. 10:18f.), even though one paraphrases the other. The reason this might have occurred emerges when we consider how Moneta responds to the notion that the element of water, so crucial for baptism, is evil. He refers to the Crossing of the Red Sea, not in relation to the account in Exodus which would be scorned by the heretics as outside their canon, but by the verses in Wisdom which they did recognize. In both accounts God commands the drowning of pursuing Egyptians, and this fact together with Wisd. 16:13 (“For it is thou, O Lord, that hast power of life and death, and ledest down to the gates of death, and bringest back again”) underscores Moneta’s conclusions that the one God of Catholic belief is responsible for death as well as life and that water is not an element controlled by an evil power.<sup>82</sup> The Jesse Tree also emphasizes the account in Wisdom. It shows the child pointing to a scroll, a motif which demonstrates that this typological reference to Christ is at least partially based on a text which the Cathars do not deny.

These examples are not offered to suggest that Moneta of Cremona was the creator of this Tree of Jesse or that it was based primarily on his work. However, they are intended to show the affinity between his antiheretical treatise and the iconographical character of the Tree. Both insist on the terrestrial genealogy of Jesus Christ; both turn to controversial Old Testament figures—Moses, David, and Nebuchadnezzar—to demonstrate the ultimate correctness of Catholic exegesis; and both refer to key prophetic texts—Mich. 5:1 and Wisd. 10:18f.—in order to confute heretical interpretations. In addition, just as Moneta is able to show divine inspiration for Old Testament events, so also the creator of the Tree of Jesse often inserts portrayals of Christ to display the same idea. These are found not only in the Star out of Jacob, the Testament of Moses, and the Stone Cut without Hands, but also in the Vision of Joel, the Prophecy of the Queen of Saba, Truth and Justice, and Amos’ Prophecy of the Crucifixion. Furthermore, although Moneta restricts his own use of Old Testament material, he would have endorsed the emphasis on prophetic imagery in the Tree of Jesse. He sums up his view of the relationship between the two testaments by quoting John 4:37: “For herein is the proverb true, ‘one sows, another reaps.’”<sup>83</sup>

While the parallels between text and image only indicate that the Tree probably originated in the effort to exterminate Catharist heresy, circumstances in the broader history of the thirteenth century definitely underscore this likelihood. Although brief recapitulations of the struggle customarily emphasize the role of Innocent III, the Lateran Council of 1215, and the Albigensian Crusade (1209–29), we must remember that these were only the initial offensives. They were succeeded by Frederick II’s strong edicts against heresy in the third and fourth decades of the century and by the ascendancy of the Inquisition under Gregory IX in the early 1230’s.<sup>84</sup> One result of the papacy’s reliance on the new Dominican and Franciscan mendicants for this task was the production of accounts of and treatises against the heretics; that of Moneta of Cremona in 1241 had been preceded by a number of less

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 72, 176, 255; Schmitz-Valckenberg, *op. cit.*, 64.

<sup>83</sup> Moneta, *Adv. Catharos*, 218f.

<sup>84</sup> Borst, *op. cit.*, 89ff.; Wakefield and Evans, *op. cit.*, 1ff.; J. Guiraud, *Histoire de l’Inquisition au moyen âge* (Paris, 1935–38), I, 365ff.; II, *passim*; H. Grundmann, *Ketzergeschichte des Mittelalters* (Göttingen, 1963), 34ff.; A. C. Shannon, *The Popes and Heresy in the Thirteenth Century* (Villanova, 1949), *passim*.

comprehensive works, and the tradition of inquisitorial literature continued to the first decades of the fourteenth century in the *Practica* of Bernard Gui. At the same time that the treatises were being written, the Inquisition was expanding its areas of activity. Under Innocent IV (1243–54) representatives were sent not only to Languedoc but also to south Slavic regions, Bosnia, Croatia, and Dalmatia, which were thought to be the spawning grounds of dualism. In 1252, the year of Peter of Verona's martyrdom, the same pope issued the bull *Ad extirpanda* which endorses the torture of suspects to obtain confessions.<sup>85</sup> Innocent's support of the Inquisition was continued by his successors, Alexander IV, Urban IV, and Clement IV.<sup>86</sup> Prior to ascending the papal throne, the future Nicholas II (1277–80) had been president of the Congregation of the Inquisition, and as Pope he reiterated earlier measures against heresy.<sup>87</sup> Nicholas IV (1288–92) also renewed the earlier decrees against Cathars and other heretics, and reminded communal authorities of the harsh laws of Frederick II.<sup>88</sup> In view of these records, it is obvious that concern about heresy was sufficiently great throughout the century to have encouraged the creation of this Tree of Jesse as one way of counteracting dualist teaching.

The natural interest of the papacy in the antiheretical crusade reinforces my earlier contention that the locus of the Tree's creation was Italy. Furthermore, the fact that Orvieto has the best replica of that Tree and the possibility that the archetype could have come into being in the early 1260's both direct attention to the reign of Urban IV (1261–64), who made that city his residence from 1262 until just before his death. During this time he added to the bishop's palace, his residence there, and in May 1264 he consecrated the Church of St. Dominic.<sup>89</sup> Near the end of his reign he lent his support to a movement that had found increasing popularity within the Church, the devotion to the Holy Sacrament; on 11 August 1264, just before he left Orvieto, he promulgated the bull *Transiturus de mundo*, which instituted the Feast of Corpus Christi.<sup>90</sup> The Dominican Cardinal Hugh of St.-Cher, a member of the papal court in Orvieto, had long recommended a commemoration of the sacrament as a feast worthy of universal celebration in the Church.<sup>91</sup> As early as 1240 he encouraged its celebration at Liège when consulted by the monks of St. Martin's there; and in 1252, when he was papal legate, he instituted its celebration in Germany on Tuesday after the octave of Pentecost. Near the end of his life he continued his sponsorship of the feast by recommending it to the pope, and Urban's bull is a posthumous tribute to his concern.

On Corpus Christi Day the Church pays special reverence to the sacrament and its miraculous nature: "So he who eats me, he also shall live because of me. He who eats this bread shall live forever" (John 6:58f.). A celebration of the sacrament, of

<sup>85</sup> H. K. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages*, XIV (London-St. Louis, 1928), 295f.; Guiraud, *op. cit.*, II, 483ff.; Shannon, *op. cit.*, 80ff.

<sup>86</sup> Guiraud, *op. cit.*, II, 505ff.; Shannon, *op. cit.*, 83.

<sup>87</sup> Mann and J. Hollnsteiner, *op. cit.*, XVI (1932), 152; Guiraud, *op. cit.*, II, 523ff.

<sup>88</sup> Mann, *op. cit.*, XVII (1931), 239.

<sup>89</sup> P. Perali, *Orvieto* (Orvieto, 1919), 59f., 63; A. Bertini-Calosso and E. D. Theseider, "Orvieto," *Enciclopedia Italiana*, XXV, 643ff.; on Urban IV, see E. Amann, "Urbain IV," *DTC*, XV,2, col. 2288ff.

<sup>90</sup> F. Callaey, "Origine e sviluppo della festa del 'Corpus Domini,'" *Eucaristia*, ed. A. Piolanti (Rome, 1957), 907ff.; J. Guiraud, *Les registres d'Urbain IV*, II (Paris, 1901), 423f.

<sup>91</sup> E. Mangenot, "Hugues de Saint-Cher," *DTC*, VII,1, col. 222ff.

the *corpus Christi*, is rich in antiheretical implications. After all, it was Christ's full, earthly humanity which the docetic Patarines denied, and it was the necessity of the incarnate body which the Church insisted on, so that the eucharistic sacrifice would be a genuine one, not hollow ritual. In recognition of this, Urban stated in the beginning of his bull that one reason for the institution of the Corpus Christi Feast was the confusion of heretical folly: *ad confundendum specialiter hereticorum perfidiam et insaniam*.

According to Orvietan accounts, the institution of this feast was prompted by the Miracle of the Corporal at Bolsena.<sup>92</sup> There, as legend has it, a priest undertook to celebrate Mass at a time when he was unable to accept the doctrine of transubstantiation. During the service the corporal on which the consecrated elements lay became stained with blood, the sight of which, of course, removed all doubts from the priest's mind. At Urban's request the miraculous corporal was removed to Orvieto, where it is housed today in the Cappella del Corporale in the Duomo.<sup>93</sup> Whether or not authentic, the story of the miracle suggests that papal reverence for the sacrament had a popular basis as well as the support of the Dominican Cardinal. In addition, the close relationship between the Corpus Christi celebration and the town of Orvieto is confirmed.

Docetic heresy was neither new nor insignificant at Orvieto.<sup>94</sup> As early as 1182 heretics took part in the internecine communal warfare engendered by the dispute between Frederick Barbarossa and Alexander III. Later, in 1199, the papal governor Pietro Parenzo was murdered by a heretical conspiracy in the city. He was buried in front of the cathedral. Almost the same treatment was given the Dominican inquisitor Ruggerio Calcagni in 1248. Led by the Filippeschi and Tosti families, who were challenging the Guelf Monaldeschi for power, the heretics/Ghibellines stormed the Dominican monastery and wounded the inquisitor. Although the Tosti and their followers were condemned to banishment, confiscation of property, and destruction of their houses in the same year, it was not the end of them. A decade and a half later, in 1263, one of their party, a Patarine instructor named Stradigotto, abjured his heresy before the inquisitor. Few associates of Stradigotto can have been prominent in Orvieto until the end of Urban's residence there. But, as the pope was leaving, he made it clear he was doing so because of his increasingly rough treatment at the hands of the Ghibellines in the city. It was only in the massive inquisition following the collapse of Manfred's forces that the heretics/Ghibellines ceased to be a major political force. In 1268 Stradigotto was condemned once again with the Tosti and Ricci families and their followers, some of whom had been active since 1239. Now the Monaldeschi were ascendant. Meanwhile, the bones of their enemies lay buried by a gate still called the *Porta patarina*, there haunting the Guelfs until yet another, more decisive defeat in 1313.

Urban IV must have seen that his residence in Orvieto would strengthen his allies among the city's warring citizens. The environment which he helped to create

<sup>92</sup> B. Pesci, "Il miracolo di Bolsena," *Eucaristia*, ed. Piolanti, 1025 ff.

<sup>93</sup> Carli, *Duomo*, 1 ff., 123 ff.

<sup>94</sup> W. Cherubini, "Movimenti patarinici in Orvieto," *Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Artistico Orvietano*, 15 (1959), 3 ff.; L. Fumi, "I Patarini in Orvieto," *ASIt*, ser. 3, 22 (1875), 52 ff.; Guiraud, *Histoire*, II, 397 ff., 509 ff.; R. I. Moore, *The Birth of Popular Heresy* (London, 1975), 127 ff.

there by his campaign to obliterate heresy, his institution of the Feast of Corpus Christi, and even his patronage in the city would have made it an ideal site for the creation of the historiated Tree of Jesse. In fact, Hugh of St.-Cher might have been the guiding spirit behind it as well as the feast.<sup>95</sup> Hugh's Dominican background and academic interest provided him liberally with the kind of exegetical knowledge so necessary for the formulation of the prophetic imagery of the Tree. Not only would he have been familiar with the antiheretical literature of his Order, but also he would have had the benefit of his own research on biblical commentary. Master of Theology in 1231, holder of the Dominican chair in Paris later in the 1230's, Hugh concentrated much of his academic energy into refining the basic material of his discipline. In addition to his commentaries on the *Sentences* he is especially known for his correctory of the Bible, a sifting of alternative readings to establish a reliable text, and his *Postillae*, a verse-by-verse explication of the scriptures according to their quadruple sense: historical, allegorical, moral, and anagogical.<sup>96</sup> Just these kinds of interest would have been essential to the Jesse Tree's creation. Not only would some of the more obscure prophecies have been known to Hugh, but also the dual accounts of the passage through the Red Sea, relied upon by Moneta of Cremona, would have met with his instant recognition. Thus, while Hugh did not ally himself with the more venturesome currents in theology, his training and predilections, combined with his advocacy of the Corpus Christi Feast, made him a well-qualified sponsor of this image. Furthermore, when one considers possible sites for the first depiction of this image, one is led to Hugh's Order again, for the Church of St. Dominic in Orvieto, now largely destroyed, was just being finished in the early 1260's. The antiheretical content of the Tree would have suited it perfectly to the Order's primary mission and to its new church.<sup>97</sup>

If Hugh of St.-Cher did supervise the creation of this Tree of Jesse, it must have been substantially complete by March 1263 when he died. If his role were more advisory, work could have continued later, perhaps culminating with the proclamation of the feast in 1264. In either capacity he is a strong link in the chain which binds the Tree and Orvieto with Urban IV and the antiheretical crusade.

Do the twelve pagan philosophers and authors owe their inclusion in the image to the defense of Catholic doctrine as well? Without question, they profess the incarnation. Like the sibyls in earlier Trees,<sup>98</sup> the pagans recall both Isaias' statement (11:10) that the savior from the line of Jesse will be "him the Gentiles shall beseech," and, perhaps even more important, Paul's specific association of the Gentiles and the Tree of Jesse in Rom. 15:12: "And again Isaias says, *There shall be the root of Jesse and he who shall arise to rule the Gentiles...in him the Gentiles shall hope.*" Additionally, however, their presence appears to sustain the Church's position in still another controversy. At the time when the image was formulated, probably

<sup>95</sup> Mangelot, *op. cit.*, 222 ff.

<sup>96</sup> Hugh of St.-Cher, *Opera omnia in universum Vetus et Novum Testamentum*, 8 vols. (Venice, 1732). Hugh had been thought the author of the *Bible moralisée* by de Laborde, *op. cit.* (note 57 *supra*), V, 143 ff., but this has been denied convincingly by R. Hausserr, "Petrus Cantor, Stephan Langton, Hugo von St. Cher und der Isaias-Prolog der Bible Moralisee," *Verbum et Signum*, 2 (1975), 347 ff.

<sup>97</sup> Other sites were possible. One of the two churches which stood where the Duomo was built could have had the image: Fumi, *Il Duomo* (note 5 *supra*), 5 f., 175, doc. I.

<sup>98</sup> See *supra*, pp. 135 ff., 141 f.

early in the 1260's, the definition of the proper place of pagan knowledge and methodology in a Christian context—the so-called Aristotle-controversy—vitally concerned theologians and the Church hierarchy. Thanks to the work of Grabmann, Steenberghen, and others, the history of the introduction of pagan philosophy in the Latin world in the thirteenth century and its consequences are so well known that it is necessary here only to suggest how the function of the pagans in the Tree corresponds to one of the main strategies which were devised to cope with it.<sup>99</sup>

The fact that the pagans are part of the Tree of Jesse means that their ideas were included within the broad outlines of the Christian inheritance. It means, at the very least, that Christian theologians could use pagan knowledge, just as, to paraphrase Gregory IX writing in 1228–31, the Hebrews had enriched themselves with the spoils of the Egyptians before the exodus.<sup>100</sup> At the same time the Tree's creators, by turning to the *Prophecies of the Seven Sages*, making the pagans prophets, stressed that their relationship to the mystery of the incarnation was one founded on faith, not natural reason. In the image they serve as an effective assurance to a relatively unsophisticated audience that pagan philosophers and authorities are acceptable in a Christian scheme of salvation precisely because (or to the extent that) the incarnation was known to them by divine revelation. This notion approximates the essentials of what has been termed either the "Eclectic Aristotelian" or "Augustinian" reaction to pagan philosophy within the Church. According to Leff, this position "preserved the essential tenets of St. Augustine in refusing to divorce understanding from illumination, knowledge from will, will from inclination, and inclination from grace."<sup>101</sup> It is a position which neither rejects outright the possible contribution of pagan, especially Aristotelian, philosophy on the one hand, nor goes as far as viewing it as a separate path to knowledge, as did St. Thomas Aquinas, on the other hand.<sup>102</sup> It was also the position of the papacy and of most of the Faculty of Theology at Paris from Gregory IX's study of the question until the condemnations of Aristotle in 1270 and 1277.<sup>103</sup>

This last observation is of special interest. Hugh of St.-Cher held the Dominican chair of theology in Paris from 1230 to 1235, and he is invariably numbered among its more conservative occupants.<sup>104</sup> Certainly, he would have been a stranger neither to the Aristotle controversy nor, I suspect, to the "Augustinian" position. Even more noteworthy is the fact that on January 19, 1263, Urban IV signed a bull in Orvieto which reiterated the privileges, prohibitions, and statutes that Gregory IX had imposed on the University of Paris.<sup>105</sup> In this bull he quoted Gregory's decision

<sup>99</sup> M. Grabmann, *I Papi del Duecento e l'Aristotelismo, 1: I divieti ecclesiastici di Aristotele sotto Innocenzo III e Gregorio IX*, *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae*, V, 7 (Rome, 1941); F. van Steenberghen, *Aristotle in the West*, trans. L. Johnston (Louvain, 1955); *idem*, *The Philosophical Movement in the Thirteenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1955). See also G. Leff, *Medieval Thought* (Harmondsworth, 1958), 168 ff.; P. Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'Averroïsme latin au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Fribourg, 1899); L. Minio-Paluello, "Aristotelianism," *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed., *Macropaedia*, I (Chicago, 1975), 1158 ff.; E. Gilson, *History of Christian Philosophy in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1955), 235 ff. and *passim*.

<sup>100</sup> Grabmann, *op. cit.*, 70 ff.

<sup>101</sup> Leff, *op. cit.*, 191.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 215; M.-D. Chenu, "Thomas Aquinas, Saint," *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed., *Macropaedia*, XVIII, 345 ff.

<sup>103</sup> Leff, *op. cit.*, 190 ff.; Steenberghen, *Aristotle*, 147 ff.

<sup>104</sup> Manganot, *op. cit.*, 221 ff.; Steenberghen, *Aristotle*, 46, 83.

<sup>105</sup> Steenberghen, *Aristotle*, 199 ff.

that the ban on the *libri naturales* could be lifted after they had been purged of error. His revival of this earlier decree, long disregarded in practice, may have signaled his fear of philosophical heresy, but more important it showed his desire to establish continuity with his predecessor and to maintain a prohibition that could be enforced should a future situation require it. Urban's involvement in this matter, his conservative approach to it, and the possibility that he was advised by Hugh of St.-Cher harmonize well with the conception of the pagans revealed by the image.

The proof of Christ's incarnation which this Tree offers has both general and specific ties with the campaign of the Church to extirpate Patarine heresy. Supplementing this is an interpretation of prominent pagans which emphasized their reception of a divine revelation that harmonized with the prophecies of the Old Testament. At least through its replicas we can view an image that had a specialized role in the great ecclesiastical and civic struggles of the thirteenth century, an image that made an articulate appeal for the establishment of a propapal order. To the Orvietan Patarines and philosophical heretics it was an affirmation of Catholic dogma and a weighty list of their supposed errors. For the Ghibellines it was a political challenge, a platform of religious orthodoxy from which they could be attacked through the errant beliefs of their families and followers. An enlightening by-product of this analysis is the evidence which aligns the Tree with Urban IV, Cardinal Hugh of St.-Cher, the Feast of Corpus Christi, and, lastly, the commune of Orvieto. Of course, the evidence for an Orvietan origin of this Tree of Jesse in the early 1260's still remains circumstantial. Nonetheless, when the image was used as part of the decoration of the cathedral façade early in the fourteenth century, it seems doubtful that the sculptors had to look beyond the city gates for their model.

#### REPLICATION AND TRANSFORMATION

While religious and political beliefs colored the perceptions of this Jesse Tree when it was first revealed, these, and perhaps other factors, too, may help us understand two intricately related subjects: why this Jesse Tree was reproduced—as late as the middle of the seventeenth century in Bulgaria—and why it was altered—often very profoundly—in these later appearances.

*Orvieto.* It is not inconceivable that the inclusion of the Tree of Jesse in Orvieto's façade program was anticipated as early as the blessing of the foundation stone on November 13, 1290, but there is no direct evidence for this. Certainly, it was part of the sculptors' plans in the first years of the fourteenth century, when it is certain the program had been determined.<sup>106</sup> Therefore, a hiatus of three or perhaps four decades separated the creation of the archetype from its appearance on the cathedral, and this being the case, we should attempt to discover what made it attractive to its later audience.

The Tree of Jesse was considerably more important for the sculpture than its place alone would indicate. It appears in an early drawing for the façade (fig. 28), where it can be seen that the organization of vegetal roundels on the second pier is as essential a part of the decorative scheme as the Madonna and Child over the

<sup>106</sup> See *supra*, p. 126.

central portal.<sup>107</sup> Its distinctive character becomes the formal theme of all the buttress faces: the arboreal organization of the Gospel scenes on the other side of the main doorway (fig. 29) and the subdivision of the Genesis and Last Judgment piers by vines all derive from it. Indeed the derivative aspect of the neighboring New Testament pier is especially evident when one notices that in it the historical Crucifixion is the pendant of Amos' prophecy and that eighteen prophets have been inserted in the place of the kings and pagans of the Jesse Tree.

If, as I suspect, the archetypal Tree was created at Orvieto, the desire to perpetuate it there might have been the reason for its adoption by the cathedral authorities. Whether or not that was the case, there are other reasons they would have found it compellingly appropriate. Fear of a resurgence of Catharism is one. Although the inquisitions of the later 1260's did break the Patarines in Orvieto, it is doubtful that the ecclesiastical authorities and citizens were quite as aware of this fact as we are today. Such fears as they might have had would have seemed confirmed by the continuation of the Inquisition in Florence until the early part of the fourteenth century and even longer in Sicily and some areas of northern Italy.<sup>108</sup> To this likely posture of anti-Patarine vigilance we may add the cult of Pietro Parenzo. In Orvieto Peter's martyrdom is commemorated on May 21, and his life and death there epitomize the earliest phase of the struggle against Patarinism.<sup>109</sup> As early as 1200, within a year of his death, the bishop of Chiusi agreed to present to Orvieto a candle at either the Feast of the Assumption or the feast of blessed Peter martyr.<sup>110</sup> That local respect for Pietro Parenzo endured well beyond this period is confirmed by his inclusion with S. Faustino in Signorelli's *Pietà* near the entrance to the chapel of the Madonna of S. Brizio.<sup>111</sup>

Of greater importance even than Peter, however, is the annual commemoration of the Corpus Domini, celebrated at Orvieto by a procession through the city, by the display of the reliquary of the miraculous corporal of Bolsena, and by a dramatic reenactment of the Miracle.<sup>112</sup> I have already discussed the intimate relationship between this relic, the institution of the Feast, and the Church's insistence on the validity of the incarnation in defiance of heretical preaching. Furthermore, except for the Jesse Tree on the façade, there is no sign on the outside of the cathedral of the corporal housed within. Thus, to the early fourteenth-century faithful, the Tree would recall both the trials and triumphs of the commune's recent past and would remind everyone of the cathedral's miraculous treasure.

The Tree's function within the political life of the city must have paralleled its place in the spiritual one. Communal affairs were as inextricably entwined with the

<sup>107</sup> I endorse the traditional opinion that the monocuspidal plan with its strongly central and vertical emphasis is earlier than the tricuspidal plan (Carli, *Duomo*, pls. following p. 15) which resembles more closely the completed architecture (Taylor, "Iconography" [note 5 *supra*], 25ff.); in contrast, see White, *op. cit.* (note 5 *supra*), *passim*. See also the interesting study by H. Keller, "Die Risse der Orvietaner Domopera und die Anfänge der Bildhauerzeichnung," *Festschrift Wilhelm Pinder* (Leipzig, 1938), 195ff.

<sup>108</sup> Borst, *op. cit.* (note 70 *supra*), 136f. V. de Bartholomaeis, ed., *Laude drammatiche e rappresentazioni sacre*, I (Florence, 1943), 439ff., has a drama of the Life of St. Dominic which was performed regularly at Orvieto and which highlights the Saint's conversion of heretics.

<sup>109</sup> *ActaSS*, V, 21 May, 85-100, esp. 86f.; trans. Moore, *op. cit.* (note 94 *supra*), 127ff.

<sup>110</sup> D. Waley, *Mediaeval Orvieto* (Cambridge, 1952), 15.

<sup>111</sup> Carli, *Duomo*, 119, pl. 244.

<sup>112</sup> Bartholomaeis, *op. cit.*, 368ff.

heretical movement as the themes of ancestry and prophecy are within the Tree. Studies by Fumi, Waley, and, most recently, Cherubini have clarified these inter-relationships so well that all that is necessary here is to recall that from the late twelfth until the early fourteenth century the accusation of heresy was regularly associated with antipapal, Ghibelline sentiments and local loyalties to the Filippeschi family in their struggles with their rivals, the Monaldeschi.<sup>113</sup> Only in 1313, after a pitched, five-day battle, were the Filippeschi finally defeated, dispersed, and reduced to political insignificance, as was the whole Ghibelline cause with Emperor Henry VI's death on August 24 of that year.<sup>114</sup> This was the effective end of Patarinism in Orvieto.

Given this historical interplay between dualism and Guelf-Ghibelline/Monaldeschi-Filippeschi politics, it is not difficult to imagine that the Tree of Jesse, as an anti-heretical image, might have served as a badge of party affiliation. Even when the heresy which had stimulated its creation ceased to be a truly savage threat, it would have had undisputed value as a symbol of loyalty to the papacy. And the years from about 1290 until 1303 or a little after, when the construction of the cathedral and the basic planning for the façade were going forward, were marked by both civic calm and close cooperation with the papal court. In fact, when Nicholas IV blessed the foundation stone in 1290, he did so not just as Supreme Pontiff, but also as the *Podestà* and *Capitano del Popolo* of Orvieto.<sup>115</sup> As much as anything, this demonstrates how closely the commune had drawn to the papacy. Subsequently, Boniface VIII was elected *Capitano* in 1296, 1297, and again in 1298, and in the two later years he was also *Podestà*. He, too, patronized the cathedral, favoring it with its first Pontifical Mass and assisting its continuing construction by his financial support.<sup>116</sup> Waley says this period of the commune's life was "characterized by a unity that is rarely found in all the turbulent history of the city-republics."<sup>117</sup> Whether this appearance of unity means the Monaldeschi and Filippeschi had become happy with one another or, as I think somewhat more likely, the Filippeschi had adopted momentarily a posture of submission, the strong papal presence was symbolized by the plan to place this image on the cathedral.

Luca Manente, a fifteenth-century chronicler of Orvieto's history, wrote that Nicholas IV's considerations in dedicating the new cathedral were the good of the republic, the *Corpus Domini*, and the desire to end the discord between the Monaldeschi and Filippeschi: *Detto anno [1290], existente papa Nicola con la corte romana in Orvieto et volendo ponere fine alla discordia infra Monaldensi et Philipensi, ordinò, del bene de la repubblica et li offerte del Corpus Domini, che si dedicasse il nuovo tempio de santa Maria.*<sup>118</sup> The Tree of Jesse was chosen for the façade sculpture for very much the same reasons.

Since the antiheretical character of the original Tree of Jesse suited so well the needs of the sculptors working on the façade, it is not surprising that they altered

<sup>113</sup> Fumi, "Patarini" (note 94 *supra*), 52ff.; Waley, *op. cit.*, 12ff., 32, and *passim*; Cherubini, *op. cit.* (note 94 *supra*), 3ff., 36ff.

<sup>114</sup> Waley, *op. cit.*, 84ff.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 69; T. S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII* (London, 1933), 176f.

<sup>117</sup> Waley, *op. cit.*, 78.

<sup>118</sup> *Cronaca di Luca di Domenico Manenti*, Muratori, *RerItalSS*, N.S. 15, pt. 5, vol. I (1918), 322.

the iconography of it only in ways that are minor or do not conflict with its fundamental meaning. A review of the specific changes must include, first, the deletion of the prophetic scenes of the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace and the Prophecy of the Queen of Saba and those other alterations to adjust the layout of the original to the special proportions of the buttress face with its narrow, very tall format. In this whole process of accommodation the only indication of confusion of any kind was the enlargement of the skeleton and sarcophagus which is Plato's distinctive symbol. Conceivably, but not certainly, this signals a genuine misunderstanding of this small segment of the archetype, but even so it is hard to assign it much weight.

The final, and by far the most important, deviation from the archetypal iconography must have proceeded from a full comprehension of the original meaning. This was the transformation of the twenty ancestors on the sides of the Tree into a new group that probably ought to be entitled the *Apostolate of the Twelve*. What in the original had been a series of standing and bust-length ancestors of Christ became a dozen pairs; in each the standing, dominant member preaches, teaches by textual exegesis, or, in two instances, lays his hand on the penitent head of the subordinate (figs. 6, 7).<sup>119</sup> Although neither attributes nor conventional facial types identify the twelve standing men, their acts and certainly their number make it hard to avoid the conclusion that they are the apostles or, at the very least, that they personify the apostolic mission of the Twelve.<sup>120</sup> As such, they reaffirm the antiheretical content of the Jesse Tree and simultaneously introduce a new, prominent issue of the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

This was the dispute over preaching, with the allied questions of license to hear confessions, receive alms and legacies, and provide burial in mendicant churches. Difficulties had arisen between the regular parish clergy and Dominican or Franciscan friars, with the former claiming, not without some justice, that through their preaching and lenient penances the mendicants had attracted allegiance and financial support that otherwise would have gone to the parishes.<sup>121</sup> Money was at stake, as well as souls and prestige. To resolve this conflict, Boniface VIII issued the bull *Super Cathedram* in 1300, during the initial stages of work on the cathedral, in which he established formulas regulating relationships between the friars and the clergy in these matters.<sup>122</sup> Specifically, the bull required that a mendicant secure the permission of the parish priest or the bishop if he wished to preach in a parish church (although no restriction was put on preaching in churches of the order or in public places); that friars be licensed by the bishop to hear confessions; and that friars give parish priests a quarter of the offerings and legacies they received. In addition, the orders were permitted to accept anyone who so wished for burial.

<sup>119</sup> Similar groups may be found in the Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus: G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton, 1969), 27ff.

<sup>120</sup> The sculptors used conventional portrait iconography very rarely at Orvieto. See, e.g., the uniformity of apostles and prophets in the Last Judgment (Carli, *Duomo*, pls. 75, 92).

<sup>121</sup> A. Zawart, *The History of Franciscan Preaching and of Franciscan Preachers (1209-1927)*, Franciscan Studies, 7 (New York, 1928), 242ff.; P. Mandonnet, *St. Dominic and His Work*, trans. M. B. Larkin (St. Louis, 1944), 120ff.; H. Dressler, "Preaching," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI, 687ff.

<sup>122</sup> Boase, *op. cit.*, 189ff.

The depiction of the teaching apostles in the Orvietan Tree was stimulated in part, I believe, by the existence of this controversy and the efforts to resolve it during a time when Boniface was in close touch with Orvieto. Introducing apostles does not give special support for either competing group, but it does confirm the principle of episcopal authority. The activities of the apostles are a reminder that preaching was an activity mandated to the apostles by Christ (John 20:22) and by the apostles to their successors, the bishops and pope. Only these individuals or ministers whom they licensed, such as the friars, could preach legally. This law had to be the basis for the resolution of the dispute between the mendicants and regular clergy, and it was also the basis of Catholic objection to a well-used heretical practice—public preaching.

In this way, although the sculpture departs from the actual iconography of the archetype, it maintains or even amplifies the original's content. Much of the Patarines' success in proselytizing can be attributed to their effective preaching. In turn, preaching became a focus of Catholic counterefforts very early, beginning with attempts to invigorate the regular clergy and culminating in the endorsement of the two preaching orders. The argument against heretical preaching could be stated in very simple terms: their preachers were not licensed by Catholic bishops, and they were not within the mandated descent from Christ. The apostles in the sculpture call attention to the necessity of just that descent.

This implied comparison between legitimate and illegitimate preaching is extended by making two of the Twelve confessors. In both cases the apostle lays his hand on the head of a penitent, the traditional gesture of absolution or reconciliation. That a preacher's mission included hearing confessions and assigning penance is clear, not just from Boniface's bull, but also from the legend of Bernard of Thiron: "The Pope enjoined this office upon him: that he should preach to the people, hear confessions, give penances, baptize, make the rounds of the territory, and fulfill carefully all that should be attended to by a public preacher."<sup>123</sup> What is most intriguing is that the apostle's gesture, while derived from Christ's in healing, and ultimately from Aaron's transmission of sin to the scapegoat (Lev. 16:21), appears to mirror the heretical ritual called *consolamentum*. To confirm an initiate in his new faith, a perfected Cathar would hold a book over his head and simultaneously impose his hand on the postulant's body. He was joined in this latter act by any other perfected Cathars who might be present.<sup>124</sup> This ritual may be taken as a spiritual baptism, releasing the soul from the evil thrall of matter to make its way to its heavenly home. The parallel between this rite and the sacrament of penance could not have been lost on any Catholic, and we may conclude that the sculptors chose precisely this formulation to contrast the heretical with the genuine, apostolic imposition of hands.

There may be one final reason for the introduction of this motif: the readiness of the Church to receive contrite heretics. From the Early Christian period the imposition of hands signaled the reconciliation of heretics with the Church. Pope

<sup>123</sup> *Vita beati Bernardi*, PL, 172, col. 1403; trans. Mandonnet, *St. Dominic*, 142f.

<sup>124</sup> Wakefield and Evans, *op. cit.* (note 71 *supra*), 465, 473ff.

Stephen, according to Cyprian, welcomed absolved heretics: "Let no change be made beyond the traditional usage of laying hands on them unto penance."<sup>125</sup>

The replication of the Tree of Jesse on the cathedral of Orvieto was not, therefore, a simple repetition of the original image that had been created some forty years before. Instead, the image was seen in the light of communal history and ritual, Orvieto's affiliation with the papacy, the impending triumph of the Monaldeschi, and controversy about preaching, confession, and penance which led to *Super Cathedram*. At the same time, the iconographical changes engendered by this new perception do not deny the original meaning and function of the image. When the Tree crossed the Adriatic to Serbia, on the other hand, a process of more radical transformation began.

*Orthodox Europe.* Western European style and iconography rarely reached the Orthodox countries in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and even when there were occasions that they did, these were not of an analogous nature. The architecture of the Raška school blends Romanesque with Byzantine forms. Corbel-table friezes, pilaster strips, tendril-covered window jambs, and tall towers over the narthexes of churches are obvious borrowings.<sup>126</sup> Studies of figural sculpture have revealed a very similar pattern of Western infiltration, quite possibly because the same craftsmen were responsible.<sup>127</sup> On the other hand, painting, because it adorned the liturgy of the Eastern rite, seldom reveals such contacts. Possibly, a few iconographical details were culled from Italian sources on a very piecemeal basis, but the reception of an image as intricate and complex as this Tree of Jesse is unparalleled.<sup>128</sup>

Undoubtedly, its migration was fostered by existing contacts between Western Europe and Serbia. Late in the twelfth century the papacy had begun to court the Nemanjid kings with the hope of securing their religious allegiance. The Serbian despots reciprocated by reaping whatever benefits they could from these initiatives.<sup>129</sup> In 1199, for example, Stephen Nemanja's second son and successor, Stephen the First Crowned, assured Innocent II that he favored the Roman Church; he presented gifts to Catholic as well as Orthodox churches, including SS. Peter and Paul in Rome and St. Nicholas in Bari.<sup>130</sup> This well-timed cultivation of the

<sup>125</sup> P. Galtier, "Imposition des mains," *DTC*, VII,2, cols. 1329, 1397ff.; A. Michel "Hérésie. Hérétique," *DTC*, VI,2, col. 2251ff.; H. C. Lea, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church* (Philadelphia, 1896), I, 50ff.; W. A. Hartel, ed., *S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani opera omnia*, CSEL (Vienna, 1868-71), III,2, 800.

<sup>126</sup> R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Baltimore [1965]), 273f., 301f.; A. Deroko, *Monumentalna i dekorativna Arhitektura u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade, 1953), 58ff., 347f.

<sup>127</sup> Deroko, *loc. cit.*; D. Bošković, "La sculpture de Dečani et la question du développement de quelques cycles iconographiques dans la sculpture médiévale de l'Italie Méridionale et de l'Occident," *SBN*, 6 (1940), 37ff.; also J. Maksimović, *Srpska srednjovekovna skulptura* (Novi Sad, 1971).

<sup>128</sup> Demus, "Die Entstehung" (note 63 *supra*), 33ff.; Lazarev, *Storia*, 296, 276f.; T. Velmans, "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues," *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice, 1971), 143ff.; also G. Millet, "L'art des Balkans et l'Italie au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *SBN*, 6 (1940), 272ff.

<sup>129</sup> A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge, 1970), 212ff.; F. Dvornik, *The Slavs in European History and Civilization* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1962), 96ff.; C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, I (Gotha, 1911-18), 287ff. and *passim*; M. Spinka, *A History of Christianity in the Balkans* (Chicago, 1933); P. Balan, *Delle relazioni fra la chiesa cattolica e gli slavi* (Rome, 1885).

<sup>130</sup> A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Slavorum meridionalium historiam illustrantia*, I (Rome, 1863), 6f.; Dvornik, *op. cit.*, 93; S. Hafner, ed. and trans., *Serbisches Mittelalter. Altserbische Herrscherbiographien, 1: Stefan Nemanja nach den Viten des hl. Sava und Stefans des Erstgekrönten*, Slavische Geschichtsschreiber, 2 (Graz, 1962), 90.

papacy, coinciding as it did with the Latin occupation of Constantinople, rewarded Stephen in 1217 when he received his crown from Honorius III, gaining the epithet *Prvovenčani*, the First Crowned (reigned 1196–1227?).

Stephen *Prvovenčani*'s third son, Stephen Uroš I (1243–76), also enjoyed very personal ties with the West. His mother, Anna Dandolo, was Venetian, and his wife Helen (d. 1307) is believed to have been from the French house of Anjou. Helen's fervent religiosity was well known to her subjects.<sup>131</sup> In 1269 she founded a monastery for Basilian monks, thought to be Latin, and at her death was buried in a Franciscan church.<sup>132</sup> Evenhanded, she was also the royal patron of the Orthodox monastery at Gradac. Helen's close ties with the papacy are particularly evident in a letter from Nicholas IV in 1288. Apparently believing that he could save Serbia, ruled by her second son Uroš II Milutin (reigned 1282–1321), and Bosnia, under her first son, Stephen Dragutin, from the Eastern rite, he begged her to intercede on behalf of Catholicism and promised that he would send two Franciscans, Martinus and Cyprianus, to aid her in her efforts.<sup>133</sup> Nicholas' fears about Serbia were well founded, but much as Milutin turned toward the East, he did not forget completely some traditional ties: in 1319 he erected a great silver altar in St. Nicholas at Bari.<sup>134</sup>

Accompanying these efforts to establish Catholicism in Serbia were numerous missions to root out heresy in the Balkans. Records of similar work in Serbia are lacking from the earliest period, but the presence of heretics in the region was a source of great concern in Europe. As early as 1200 Innocent III ordered the king of Hungary to subdue the Bogomils in neighboring Bosnia; about 1220 a papal legate and some Franciscan and Dominican friars were ordered there; and Franciscans were in Bosnia again in 1234–35.<sup>135</sup> Innocent also sought to combat heresy in Bulgaria, and in 1238 Gregory IX continued his predecessor's efforts there by encouraging Bela IV in his wars *contra gentem apostatricem, populum blasphemantem, haereticos videlicet et schismaticos terrae Assani, ipsumque Assanum Dei et Ecclesiae inimicum*.<sup>136</sup> Later, Queen Helen's aid was enlisted in this campaign.<sup>137</sup> Helen may also have stirred Stephen Dragutin, possibly a Catholic himself, against heresy. In 1288 he solicited papal support against dualists who were infesting his realm.<sup>138</sup> His participation in this cause may be reflected in the decoration of St. Achilles in Arilje which he founded in 1296. In its narthex, along with the Tree of Jesse, are two murals, one showing St. Symeon, Dragutin, and Milutin overseeing a disputation between Orthodox bishops and a group of men identified

<sup>131</sup> Jireček, *op. cit.*, 295ff., 318; J. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968), 168; I. Marković, *Gli slavi ed i Papi*, II (Zagreb, 1897), 344ff.; A. d'Avril, *La Serbie chrétienne* (Paris, 1897), 118; Dvornik, *op. cit.*, 110f.

<sup>132</sup> Marković, *op. cit.*, 353.

<sup>133</sup> A. Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia*, I (Rome, 1859), 359f.; also 360f.

<sup>134</sup> Dvornik, *op. cit.*, 110.

<sup>135</sup> Moorman, *op. cit.*, 167; D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils: A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism* (Cambridge, 1948), 283ff.; also B. Altaner, *Die Dominikanermissionen des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Habelschwerdt, 1924).

<sup>136</sup> I. Dujčev, "Il Francescanesimo in Bulgaria nei secoli XIII e XIV," in *Medioevo bizantino-slavo*, I (Rome, 1965), 396.

<sup>137</sup> Theiner, *Vetera Hungariam*, 375f.; Moorman, *op. cit.*, 167f.

<sup>138</sup> Theiner, *Vetera Hungariam*, 377ff.

as Bogomils, and the second portraying either St. Nicholas or St. Achilles arguing with heretics.<sup>139</sup>

Unfortunately, we have no documents which show the involvement of either Urban IV or his successor Clement IV in Balkan affairs at the time it is most likely that this Tree of Jesse entered Serbia. However, in view of the evidence which brackets their reigns, active missions there should be assumed. Furthermore, since we do know of Urban's intense interest in the relationship between Eastern and Western churches, a matter of increased seriousness after the restoration of the capital in 1261, we are entitled to expect that he moved as readily in Balkan diplomacy as he did where his exertions have been recorded.<sup>140</sup>

What is certain from the foregoing is that the Tree of Jesse did not appear at Sopoćani in the later 1260's merely by chance. Instead, it came during a period of rising Catholic expectations for dominance in the Balkans, when legates and missions were sponsored by the Latin Church, and when there was a highly influential person, Queen Helen, encouraging religious contacts with the West. Very likely, the motive of those who brought the image to Serbia was identical with those who fashioned it in Italy: to combat heresy. Dualism was rife in Bosnia; it had evoked papal interventions in Serbia and Bulgaria; in fact, it was of sufficient nuisance and longevity to be condemned by Dušan's law code of 1346.<sup>141</sup>

Just how the Tree of Jesse was received in Serbia, on the other hand, seems to have little to do with why it was brought there. It is difficult to believe that the antiheretical character its creators had given it held the attention of the painters and patrons at Sopoćani and elsewhere nearly as strongly as other properties which they discerned in it. First, although they retained enough archetypal characteristics to disclose the common ancestry of their Trees and Orvieto's, the Serbian painters quickly undertook a process that might be described as iconographical redefinition. Thus, if we examine the prophetic scenes, we find that the Anointing of David, Gideon and the Fleece, the Star out of Jacob, and Balaam and the Ass are usually recognizable and conventionally placed, although, as I mentioned in the discussion of the stemma, they have been subjected to some telltale alterations. On the other hand, there are a number of instances, some of which I have already analyzed, in which scenes undergo complete iconographical metamorphoses. Most often, the Celebration of the Israelites became a Presentation (Prizren, Dečani), and the Peaceable Kingdom turned into a Nativity (Arilje, Prizren, Dečani). Nearly as ubiquitous was the transformation of the Expulsion of Heliodorus into an equestrian portrait of the Archangel Michael. New subjects were also interpolated: both Prizren and Dečani have Baptisms, and Dečani also has such novelties as the Sacrifice of Balak and the Ascension of Elias. These are only samples of the kinds of alteration that occur among the prophetic scenes, but, nonetheless, they are sufficient to confirm that the pattern of alteration is one of sacrificing the prophetic content of the scenes for a more familiar, usually Gospel subject.

<sup>139</sup> Djurić, *Fresken*, 61; Hafner, *op. cit.*, 83ff.; Millet and Frolov, *La peinture* (note 8 *supra*), pl. 95.

<sup>140</sup> Amann, *op. cit.* (note 89 *supra*), col. 2292f.

<sup>141</sup> Vlasto, *op. cit.* (note 129 *supra*), 233; also B. Krekić, "La Serbie entre Byzance et l'Occident au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 1966* (London, 1967), 62ff.

Often the process was conditioned by physical resemblance, as the derivations of a Presentation and Nativity from the Celebration and Peaceable Kingdom clearly indicate.<sup>142</sup>

The rejection of much that was abstruse in the archetype went hand in hand with a rather free attitude toward the structure of the image itself. There are no extant replicas in Serbia which include the pagans in their original location or a complete number of prophets or ancestors. Sometimes these deletions may be explained by the restricted areas allotted the Tree; and at other times, as at Arilje and Prizren, by the inappropriateness of the surfaces to the nature of the image. Another kind of distortion of the original scheme was the displacement of a prophet or ancestor from his proper zone. There are many instances of this at Arilje, Prizren, and Dečani, and it is also anticipated as early as Sopoćani (fig. 8). Even in the wreckage that remains there one can see a diminutive figure, seated within an arc made by a branch of the vine, next to the Star out of Jacob. Morphologically this figure derived from an ancestor that had been on the periphery of the Tree, and his new location is another sign of Sopoćani's deviation from the plan of the archetype.

If an antiheretical statement remains in these Serbian Trees, it resides chiefly in the genealogical component. If judged against the strictly ordered, wholly prophetic character of the archetype, or against the quality of the image as it appears at Orvieto, even the more intact of Serbian examples are considerably less effective in presenting the original message. This fact is probably the result of a difference in attitude toward decoration in Orthodox churches. Images or programs of a didactic, sermonizing character—the character of this Tree—do not belong in a typical Eastern church. Christological dogma and its ritual expression in the liturgy pervade Orthodox decorative programs. In the company of these universals the specific attack on heretical tenets made by the archetypal version of this Jesse Tree, so akin to mendicant preaching, has no real place.<sup>143</sup> That the Tree could be assimilated at all in the East presupposes instead that a place could be found for it in existing programmatic structures, that it could be interpreted with reference to the liturgy and to the needs of the patrons of Serbian churches.

S. Dufrenne, in her article on iconographical programs in thirteenth-century Byzantine churches, shows that, around the time Sopoćani was painted, subjects from the Old Testament were introduced to enrich the decoration of church narthexes.<sup>144</sup> In this location they serve as preludes to the Incarnation, just as, architecturally, this zone is a prelude to the sanctuary. She associates the Trees of Jesse at Sopoćani and Arilje with the Sunday of the Genealogy of Christ—a liturgical prelude to the Nativity. In this way the theme of the Tree of Jesse takes

<sup>142</sup> Possibly the Burning of Sodom, one of Dečani's unique scenes, derived from the portion of a Fountain from the House of the Lord which had flames.

<sup>143</sup> O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London, 1948), 3ff.

<sup>144</sup> S. Dufrenne, "L'enrichissement du programme iconographique dans les églises byzantines du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *L'art byzantin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Symposium de Sopoćani, 1965*, ed. V. J. Djurić (Belgrade, 1967), 43f. and *passim*. Also, K. Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century," *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. Kessler (Chicago, 1971), 271ff., for some of the background of this phenomenon.

its place among many other Old Testament subjects, including the Joseph cycle at Sopoćani, which may allude to the Sunday of the Ancestors of Christ as well as to the reigning dynasty.<sup>145</sup> All enhance and amplify the relationship between the mural decoration and the liturgical calendar.

Dufrenne's observations not only suggest how the Tree entered the canon of Orthodox church decoration, but also why many of the prophetic scenes in it were altered in the ways they were. The liturgical calendar is structured around the great Feasts of the life of Christ, with most of the lesser holidays having a preparatory or commemorative relationship to them. This is certainly true of the Sundays of the Genealogy or Ancestors of Christ because they are times of fasting, immediate preparations for the Feast of the Nativity. Seen in this light, the transformations of the Peaceable Kingdom into a Nativity and the Celebration into a Presentation are understandable; they are attempts to call attention to the fulfillment of the Old Testament prophecies and to the culmination of the genealogical tree in the incarnation.

Complementing the liturgical role assumed by the Tree of Jesse is a dynastic one. It has been recognized for some time that the structure of the genealogical tree of the Nemanjid dynasty, found first at Gračanica (*ca.* 1320), then Peć (1334–37), Dečani (*ca.* 1350), and Mateič (after 1355), derived from a Tree of Jesse. In fact, as Radojčić has demonstrated by using the New Testament tree at Orvieto rather than the Jesse Tree, the specific kind from which it derived was the one under study here.<sup>146</sup> In Dečani's version (fig. 27), for example, the vine springs from the hands of Stephen Nemanja (St. Symeon), enframes his two great sons St. Sava and Stephen *Prvovenčani* on either side of him, and then rises to encircle succeeding kings, all of whom stand under the divine benediction of the Emmanuel and two angels. Naturally, the acanthus itself and the ovals it makes around the standing figures recall its similar application in the Jesse Tree, but the most telling details are the busts of the lesser figures emerging from calyxes at terminals of the vine. Many of Christ's ancestors were portrayed in precisely this fashion in the archetype, and, conversely, it is not a motif which has much prominence outside of this group.

That the structural sources of the Nemanjid Tree lie in this type of Tree of Jesse should not be especially surprising, for at Sopoćani and Arilje there are programmatic elements which herald this assimilation. In the former, the Tree surmounts a procession of the dynasty; in the latter, a section of wall beneath the Jesse Tree was reserved for portraits of Dragutin's sons Urosiĉ and Vladislav.<sup>147</sup> While the initial association of dynastic portraits and the Tree of Jesse may have resulted only from the fact that the Tree found its proper liturgical place in the

<sup>145</sup> Dufrenne, *loc. cit.*; R. Ljubinković, "Sur le symbolisme de l'Histoire de Joseph du narthex de Sopoćani," in *Symposium de Sopoćani*, 207 ff.

<sup>146</sup> S. Radojčić, *Portreti srpskih vladara u srednjem veku* (Skopje, 1934), 38 ff.; Djurić, *Fresken*, 72; Velmans, *op. cit.* (note 128 *supra*), 111; M.-A. Musicescu, "Introduction à une étude sur le portrait de fondateur dans le Sud-est européen. Essai de typologie," *RESEE*, 7,2 (1969), 298 f. More recently, see R. Hamann-Mac Lean, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien*, II, *Grundlegung zu einer Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien* (Giessen, 1976), 178 ff.

<sup>147</sup> Djurić, *Fresken*, 56, 61.

western end of the church, where tradition had placed donor portraits, it cannot have been long before a deeper symbolism was realized.<sup>148</sup> To parallel the descendants of Stephen Nemanja with those of Jesse would equate them with the kings of the Old Testament and imply a divine ordination of their rule. The final expression of this idea is the Nemanjid Tree, but the Jesse Tree must have suggested and supported it from the time of its arrival in Serbia.

The Serbs frequently found parallels between dynastic and biblical history. The stimulus came initially from Byzantine histories and hagiographies, which were the basic models for the biographies of St. Symeon by Sava, Stephen *Prvo-venčani*, and Domentian, and the Lives of St. Sava by Domentian and Teodosije.<sup>149</sup> Expressions of this same tendency in art may be found in representations of the *vita* of St. Symeon at Studenica, Sopoćani, and Gradac, in which individual compositions often reflect analogous Old or New Testament scenes.<sup>150</sup> Likewise, the depiction of the Death of Queen Anna at Sopoćani is firmly based on the familiar Dormition of the Virgin.<sup>151</sup> Recently, Ljubinković has argued convincingly that the story of Joseph, also in Sopoćani's narthex, includes a number of iconographical peculiarities which enhance its parallelism with the lives of key members of the dynasty, especially St. Symeon. The purpose of this treatment of the cycle was, according to the author, the glorification of the sovereign and reigning dynasty.<sup>152</sup>

Included in the repertory of literary parallelisms are countless references to the founder of the dynasty being like Jacob (Stephen Nemanja changed his name to Symeon as Jacob changed his to Israel; his children were as numerous as Israel's), David, Solomon, or Joseph.<sup>153</sup> Additionally, the metaphor of Stephen Nemanja being the root or stock of a tree of royal descendants, themselves characterized also as good roots or branches, is a leitmotif of the biographies. Domentian provides the most explicit link between the Tree of Jesse and this kind of historiography. Writing in 1264, he parallels Stephen Nemanja (St. Symeon) and David, saying he, too, was the "flower of a good root" (Isa. 11:1 ff.) and the youngest of his father's sons.<sup>154</sup> This was an idea with special value for the Nemanjids, for their succession was more appointive than hereditary. When he entered monastic life in 1196, Stephen Nemanja passed over his eldest son, Vukan, to give the realm to his second son, Stephen (later the First Crowned). In recalling this moment, St. Sava writes that their father chose Stephen because he was a "good root."<sup>155</sup> In the years from Stephen Nemanja's resignation to Dušan's coronation (1196–

<sup>148</sup> Velmans, *op. cit.*, 110ff.

<sup>149</sup> Hafner, *op. cit.* (note 130 *supra*), 13ff.; *idem*, *Studien zur altserbischen dynastischen Historiographie* (Munich, 1964), chap. 3; Vlasto, *op. cit.* (note 129 *supra*), 218; Hamann-Mac Lean, *op. cit.*, 181ff.

<sup>150</sup> V. J. Djurić, "La peinture murale serbe au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Symposium de Sopoćani*, 164; Winfield, *op. cit.* (note 63 *supra*), 251ff.; also G. Babić, "Chapelles laterales des églises serbes du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et leur décor peint," in *Symposium de Sopoćani*, 179ff.

<sup>151</sup> V. R. Petković, "La mort de la reine Anne à Sopoćani," in *L'art byzantin chez les slaves*, I (Paris, 1930), 217ff.; Millet and Frolow, *La peinture* (note 8 *supra*), pl. 47.

<sup>152</sup> Ljubinković, *op. cit.*, 207ff., 237; A. Grabar, "Les cycles d'images byzantins tirés de l'histoire biblique et leur symbolisme princier," *Starinar*, 20 (1969), 133ff.; also note 150 *supra*.

<sup>153</sup> Hafner, *op. cit.*, 38 and *passim*; Ljubinković, *op. cit.*, 217f.

<sup>154</sup> Domentian, *Stare Srpske Biografije*, IV, *Životi svetoga Save i svetoga Simeona*, ed. and trans. L. Mirković, Srpska Književna zadruga, 282 (Belgrade, 1938), 223.

<sup>155</sup> Hafner, *op. cit.*, 41.

1331) the crown passed to the eldest son on his father's death only twice, in *ca.* 1227 when Radoslav acceded to the throne, and in 1276 when Dragutin briefly succeeded Stephen Uroš I. Except for these, the record appears to be one of designations, resignations, dethronements, and conspiratorial maneuverings. In this context the concept of a dynastic tree, rooted in the person of Stephen Nemanja, must have been a comforting image of continuity.<sup>156</sup>

As seen, therefore, in its earlier Serbian appearances, the Tree of Jesse integrates very well with both the desire to expand the mural program by additional references to the liturgical year and the determination to embed in this program references to Nemanjid dynastic history. On the one hand, it commemorates the Sunday of the Genealogy of Christ, and on the other, it suggests that Stephen Nemanja and his successors are the latter day counterparts of Jesse and the ancestors of Christ. Neither of these grounds provided compelling reasons to preserve the more intricate and rich iconography of this species of Jesse Tree, and in turn this explains the scope of the changes wrought in these early replicas of the original scheme.

A second stage in the Tree's assimilation into Eastern church decoration occurred when it became valued as a prophetic type of the Virgin and of her major role in the Incarnation. Witnesses of this change are the programs in the outer narthex of the Bogorodica Ljeviška in Prizren (*ca.* 1310–13) and the south gallery of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Salonika (soon after 1315). The specific contents of the program in Prizren are these: in the north end, subjects typifying the Virgin—the Tree of Jesse in the vault and on the walls a composition based on the canon of Comas for the feast of the Dormition and Jacob's Dream of the Ladder; in the center, arches with prophets of the Virgin framing a vault painted with scenes of the life of the Baptist; and in the south, the Last Judgment.<sup>157</sup> The subjects accompanying the Tree in the Holy Apostles' Church are the Tabernacle of Moses, Gideon and the Fleece, Jacob's Ladder, probably Moses and the Burning Bush, and some remains of what may have been Wisdom Building Her Temple. Not far removed are fragments of additional prophetic episodes, and in the north arm of the narthex there is the Christmas Hymn.<sup>158</sup> It is significant also that scenes of the life of the Baptist are in the opposite, north gallery.

The Marian portions of these two programs may be grouped with others that are very similar. Examples include the north porch of Hagia Sophia in Trebizond, which has been dated as early as *ca.* 1260, the narthex of the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos (now St. Clement's) in Ochrid (1295), the parecclesion of the Kariye Djami (1316–21), the outer narthex of the Church of the Virgin in Peć (*ca.* 1334), and the narthex of the church at Lesnovo (1349). Similar subjects are also located

<sup>156</sup> Dvornik, *op. cit.* (note 129 *supra*), 89 ff., 110 ff.; S. Ćirković, "Serbien im XIII. Jahrhundert," in *Symposium de Sopoćani*, 117 ff.

<sup>157</sup> R. Hamann-Mac Lean and H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien vom 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert*, I (Giessen, 1963), plan 23; S. Der Nersessian, "Program and Iconography of the Frescoes of the Parecclesion," in *The Kariye Djami*, IV (note 63 *supra*), 307, 315; this study is vital support for my analysis.

<sup>158</sup> Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, 315, 341; Xynogopoulos, *op. cit.* (note 16 *supra*), 86 ff.

in parts of the church away from the entrances at Dečani, Gračanica, and elsewhere.<sup>159</sup>

That the Old Testament subjects at Prizren and Salonika were considered signs and prefigurations of the Virgin is clear from the abundant evidence of all these monuments, from the most well-known exegesis, and finally from the content of the liturgy itself. Jacob's Ladder (Gen. 28:10–17) is a lection for the Feasts of the Birth of the Virgin and her Dormition, as is Prov. 9:1, which contains the image of Wisdom constructing her temple. The Burning Bush (Exod. 3:1–8) is a lection in the services commemorating the Annunciation, and during the same services the Virgin is acclaimed "fleece receiving heavenly manna," a reference to the promise made to Gideon. Heb. 9:7, which describes the Tabernacle, is read at the Presentation of the Virgin, and finally Isa. 11:1, the source of the Jesse Tree, was read on the Eve of the Nativity; I have already noted that the genealogy of Matthew is part of the pre-Christmas liturgy for the Sunday of the Genealogy of Christ.<sup>160</sup> As Der Nersessian has emphasized in her valuable study of the frescoes in the Kariye Djami, the appearance of such imagery in monumental painting seems to be datable to the Palaeologan era, although the literary and pictorial roots of the typologies may be traced back to the writings of the early Fathers on the one hand, and to ninth-century miniatures on the other.<sup>161</sup> An increased devotion to the Virgin at this time may bear much of the responsibility for this development. The evidence of church decoration certainly leads to this conclusion, and Andronicus II's authorization in 1297 of a month-long celebration of the Dormition in Constantinople reinforces it.<sup>162</sup>

The Orthodox acceptance of the Jesse Tree, both the type under discussion here and the more conventional variety that appears in Castoria and Trebizond, coincides neatly with the formation of these Marian programs in monumental painting. At the same time, however, the image is not a regular element in these programs. Probably the cumbersome nature of the Tree, its demand for large expanses of surface, may have denied it a place in many churches, but there was also a deeper reason for resistance to it. It was much less familiar to patrons and artists than most of the other prefigurations, for it lacked a heritage in Byzantine manuscript illumination.

Because it is a program of promise, the Marian scheme, of which the Jesse Tree became an occasional part, was an especially suitable one for those areas of churches that adjoined the sanctuary. Just as the prophets forecast the Incarnation and redemptive sacrifice of Christ, the narthexes or peripheral galleries of the church stand before and lead to the place where this sacrifice is reenacted in the liturgy. The scenes of the Baptist's life have the same purpose, for he was the self-proclaimed forerunner.<sup>163</sup> The symbolism of entrance does not preclude another, analogous one,

<sup>159</sup> Talbot Rice, *op. cit.* (note 56 *supra*), 149 ff.; Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, 305 ff., 315 f.

<sup>160</sup> J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise*, I (Rome, 1962–63), 18 f., 370 f., 254, 110 f., 150 f., 134 f.; Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, 316 f.; Dufrenne, *op. cit.* (note 144 *supra*), 43 f.

<sup>161</sup> Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, 311 ff.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 313.

<sup>163</sup> Baptisms were conducted in narthexes, an additional ground for these scenes: Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule* (note 11 *supra*), 37.

however: the symbolism of death and resurrection through Christ. Narthexes were the sites of commemorative services for the dead, and, thus, passing from them to the sanctuary can be likened to a movement from the tomb to heaven.<sup>164</sup> The Last Judgment in the outer narthex at Prizren and those in the earlier narthexes of the Church of the Virgin at Studenica, Mileševo, and Sopoćani all create an analogy between a temporal entrance of the church and an entrance to heaven at the end of time. In this context the cycles of the Virgin and Baptist at the Bogorodica Ljeviška and the Holy Apostles' Church celebrate their capacities as the primary intercessors. There is a Marian cycle in the parecclesion of the Kariye, and this place was a burial chapel. As Der Nersessian has shown, this cycle underscores the fact that through her, the instrument of the Incarnation, salvation came to mankind and that she will reconcile God and man.<sup>165</sup>

The impact of the Tree's new associations on its iconographical character is not easy to gauge in the version at Prizren. It is pertinent, however, that those scenes which have remained, the Nativity, the Presentation, the Baptism, the Crucifixion, and Gideon and the Fleece, draw attention to the ultimate reference of the image in this context: the Virgin and her role in the Incarnation. Dečani's Jesse Tree, also part of an extended Marian cycle, shows a similar pattern of transformation. Its Gospel subjects have assumed their regular forms, leaving few, if any, traces of their morphological heritage in the Old Testament. One cannot help being impressed by the raw enthusiasm which accompanied the reworking of this Tree. The Sacrifice of Balak has been added to link the episode of Balaam and the Ass with the Star out of Jacob, providing three illustrations for the narrative of Balaam's relationship to Balak and to the coming of Israel (Num. 22–24). Another inserted Old Testament scene is the Ascension of Elias (4 Kings 2:11), whose feast is celebrated on July 20; because Elias was a prophet of both the Incarnation and the Second Coming, his inclusion relates to both the incarnational and intercessory components of the Marian program. Finally, the Virgin appears in the new Flight into Egypt, which was placed opposite the Nativity.

The Jesse Tree at Salonika shows only a few iconographical features that have not been encountered in previous versions. Like the extant Serbian examples it has a Presentation, a Nativity, and a mounted Archangel. On the left side of the central stem, however, there are some changes which seem to herald the appearance at the Lavra of the Descent into Egypt and Christ above Four Mountains, but the physical deterioration of the painting and the absence of inscriptions leaves the subjects uncertain.<sup>166</sup>

In the discussion of the stemma, Salonika's Tree was singled out as evidence that the basic Eastern variant of the archetype had been adopted in the Byzantine world only a half-century after its migration to Serbia. That Salonika should be the earliest known location of the image within the boundaries of the Eastern empire

<sup>164</sup> Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, 307; G. Galavaris, *Icons from The Elvehjem Art Center* (Madison, 1973), 9; G. Millet, *La dalmatique du Vatican* (Paris, 1945), 38f.

<sup>165</sup> Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, 309ff.

<sup>166</sup> The iconography of the scene which takes the place of the Fountain from the House of the Lord cannot be determined, although it is possible that it presages the Promise of the Second Coming which appears in many Moldavian Trees: Taylor, "Moldavian Trees," 267ff.

ought not be especially surprising, for from the inception of their state Serbian princes and prelates had cultivated relations with this city and, following in the footsteps of St. Sava and Stephen Nemanja, had maintained reverent contacts with the monasteries on nearby Mt. Athos.<sup>167</sup> Thus, for example, Uroš II Milutin (1282–1314) had the churches of St. George and St. Nicholas and a royal residence for himself constructed in the city. In addition, Milutin commissioned the mural decoration of Chilandar.<sup>168</sup> This latter project could have been the vehicle for the migration of the image to the eastern Mediterranean. To be sure, there is no Tree of Jesse in the nineteenth-century paintings at Chilandar, which are believed to copy Milutin's originals, but that does not rule out its appearance in a lost part of the monastery's decorations.<sup>169</sup> The fact that the Tree appears twice on Athos later, in the *trapeza* of the Great Lavra (ca. 1536) and in the katholikon of Dochiariou (1568), does appear to reinforce this hypothesis.

Alternatively, Greek artists could have known this Tree from their encounters with it in Serbia itself. During Milutin's reign many were employed there. At Arilje, for example, there is a Greek motto lauding Michael Palaeologus which was painted during hostilities between Serbia and Byzantium. Its author must have been a clandestine, somewhat out-of-touch supporter of the former emperor, a painter who had come from Salonika where the slogan had been a popular one.<sup>170</sup> Likewise, the master Astrapas, who inscribed his name on the walls of the outer narthex of the Ljeviška, may well have been either part of or closely related to a Greek workshop that enjoyed substantial patronage from Milutin. The names of the chief members of this shop, Eutychios and Michael of Astrapas, appear first on the Peribleptos Church in Ochrid, built by a general of Andronicus II in 1295, in 1307 in Sv. Nikitas in Čučer, soon after in Prizren, and finally at Staro Nagoričino in 1317–18.<sup>171</sup> Any of these men or an unrecorded Greek associate could have added the Tree of Jesse to his repertory and carried it to Salonika when he returned home.

The next extant versions of the Tree date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, after the fall of the Empire, and their distribution on Mt. Athos, in Romania, and in Bulgaria indicates that the image had become accepted currency in the post-Byzantine Eastern world.<sup>172</sup> Iconographically, this was an era when Palaeologan programs were continued, often with greater elaboration and refinement. The associations that the Jesse Tree developed soon after it came to the Orthodox world—with the liturgical calendar and with the Virgin in her capacities as the mother of God and as an intercessor for mankind—remained unchanged. But

<sup>167</sup> Vlasto, *op. cit.* (note 129 *supra*), 218ff., 306; also D. Dimitrijević, "L'importance du monachisme serbe et ses origines au monastère athonite de Chilandar," *Le millénaire du Mont Athos, 963–1963*, I (Chevetogne, 1963), 265ff.

<sup>168</sup> Djurić, *Fresken*, 65ff., 73ff.; Lazarev, *Storia*, 301ff., 382ff.; Krautheimer, *op. cit.* (note 126 *supra*), 300ff.; D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting: The Last Phase* (New York, 1968), 109.

<sup>169</sup> Millet, *Athos* (note 17 *supra*), pls. 59–80; Djurić, *Fresken*, 73f.

<sup>170</sup> Djurić, *Fresken*, 61.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 68; Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami" (note 63 *supra*), 146ff.; Hallensleben, *Die Malerschule*, 11ff. and *passim*; P. Miljković-Peppek, *Deloto na zografite Mihailo i Eutihij* (Skopje, 1967), 234ff., and *passim*.

<sup>172</sup> The increasing popularity of the Jesse Tree at this time may well account for the description of this subject (not of the specific type under consideration here) in the manual of Dionysios of Fournia (note 37 *supra*), 84.

the programs in which the Tree was placed show an intriguing variety, and its internal components continued to change.

Indicative of this is the Tree of Jesse painted by Theophanes of Crete and his associates in the refectory (*trapeza*) of the Great Lavra on Mt. Athos (ca. 1536). The program of this large cruciform hall subsumes a number of interrelated themes: the commemoration of the founding saint of the Lavra, Athanasius; the ideal of monastic obedience; the end of temporal life; the glorification of the Virgin; and a tribute to the Baptist. Overriding these is the concept of anticipation introduced by the Last Supper in the niche that terminates the main, west arm and continued by examples of preparation by trial and by signs of the seasons of abstinence.<sup>173</sup> In the interplay of these themes individual scenes often have multivalent references. In particular the Tree of Jesse has been included both to honor the Virgin and to indicate a season of fasting. In fulfilling the first of these functions, the Tree may be grouped together with the scenes in the *trapeza* of the Virgin's early life and of her parents, the illustrations of the Akathistos hymn, and her image on the apsidal wall of the chamber, enthroned and in the midst of prophets who hold images that prefigure her. At the Lavra the Virgin is honored by special celebrations, and she is especially venerated as an intercessor, as the placement of her image (the *Blachernitissa*) and the position of John the Baptist facing the Last Judgment unmistakably suggest.<sup>174</sup> At the same time, the Jesse Tree belongs to a selection of subjects whose common theme is, as J. Yiannias has argued, anticipation or preparation.<sup>175</sup> The Last Judgment, the Councils (the determination of Orthodoxy), the Heavenly Ladder of St. John Climacus, the Akathistos, and the parable of the Vine, all of which are shown, are appropriate to the Triodion which governs the order of service during Lent. As a period of abstinence preceding the Easter feast, Lent is a preparation. So, too, is the briefer fast which preceded Christmas and is signaled by the Jesse Tree, whose calendrical reference is to the Sunday of the Genealogy of Christ.<sup>176</sup> In a similar way the trials and sacrifices so abundant in the menologion and in the other scenes of Christian obedience at the Lavra are exemplifications of the life which prepares the monk for the repose of blessedness.

Quite naturally the continued association of the Tree with the Virgin and the church calendar fostered the Eastern tendency to alter the original prophetic iconography. As we have seen earlier, many of the telltale Eastern modifications are present. Transformations have produced a Presentation, a Nativity, and an Archangel Michael; and Amos' Prophecy of the Crucifixion has become the *crucifixus* itself. In addition, two other scenes in the Lavra's Tree deserve special attention.

<sup>173</sup> Yiannias, *op. cit.* (note 17 *supra*), 8ff. and *passim*.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 238ff.; *idem*, "The Elevation of the Panaghia," *DOP*, 26 (1972), 225ff.

<sup>175</sup> Yiannias, "Lavra," 194ff.

<sup>176</sup> *Byzantine Daily Worship*, ed. J. Raya and J. de Vinck (Allendale, N.J., 1969), 773ff.; *La prière des églises de rite byzantin*, II, ed. F. Mercenier (Monastère de Chevetogne, 1948), xxff.; Mateos, *op. cit.* (note 160 *supra*), I, 134ff.; II, 2ff. The Parables of the Wise and Foolish Virgins and of the Publican and the Pharisee on the outside façade of the refectory also fit a program derived from the Triodion, as these Typica designate, for they are commemorated on Holy Monday (and Holy Tuesday) and on the tenth Sunday before Easter, respectively. Perhaps the most irregular feature of the Triodion has been the singing of the Akathistos, which originally had taken place on the Feast of the Annunciation (25 March) but was moved early into the Lenten calendar; see E. Wellesz, "The 'Akathistos.' A Study in Byzantine Hymnography," *DOP*, 9-10 (1955-56), 143.

The scene replacing the Prophecy of Nahum—a bust of Christ above four mountains—was once identified tentatively as an Ascension, but the absence of angels and spectators makes this impossible to sustain without special explanation.<sup>177</sup> Prophecies such as Zach. 14:4 or Mich. 4:1f. may underlie this subject matter because they do mention mountains,<sup>178</sup> but there is at least one other possibility, Ps. 86, which evokes similar imagery: “The foundations thereof are in the holy mountains.” What is attractive about this source is that it is part of the liturgy celebrating the Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple and at Vespers preceding the Nativity.<sup>179</sup> Reference to this text would correspond to the dominant tendency to revise the Tree according to references to the Virgin in the liturgy.

The scene which replaces the Vision of Ezechiel at the lower right corner of the Tree shows a bust-length figure of Christ supported by an acanthus leaf and addressing a group of Church Fathers. This iconography could illustrate the thirteenth strophe of the Akathistos Hymn in which the Church Fathers and philosophers, who do not seem to be in the roundel but whose place may be assumed by the pagans beneath, confront “a new creation.”<sup>180</sup> In this strophe two of the many epithets given the Virgin are “blossom of incorruption” and “fruitful tree,” both highly appropriate to the symbolism of the Jesse Tree itself. Considering the proximity of the Tree and the Akathistos illustrations in the refectory and their mutual association with the Virgin, it is not surprising that this migration may have occurred.

Thematic considerations similar to those at the Lavra probably governed the decoration of the refectory at Bačkovo (1643) in Bulgaria. Near the Tree are the Akathistos Hymn and a Last Judgment which, in turn, frames a niche with an enthroned Virgin in it.<sup>181</sup> None of the Tree’s internal iconographical details show alterations not found earlier in Athonite or Moldavian examples.

Of all the Jesse Trees of this type, the one in the narthex of the katholikon of Dochiariou (1568) shows the greatest amount of adaptation to the image’s role as a Marian symbol. Its content has been much reduced, and Christ at the vine’s crown is now framed by the busts of Peter and Paul. Furthermore, many of the scenes have been both rearranged and radically changed in content. The Nativity has abandoned the traditional iconography of the recumbent Virgin in favor of the kneeling type, possibly introduced in a wave of Western influence.<sup>182</sup> More interesting, the Virgin in the genealogical stem of the Tree is now flanked by roundels showing Moses before the Burning Bush and Jacob’s Ladder, both long-standing allegories of her.

Dochiariou’s Tree, with its highly developed Marian symbolism, is part of a narthex program that has many of the same subjects that are in the *trapeza* of the Lavra, and, therefore, even though it is later, it must reflect the tradition from

<sup>177</sup> Henry, “L’arbre de Jessé,” 26.

<sup>178</sup> Taylor, “Moldavian Trees,” 269f.

<sup>179</sup> Mateos, *op. cit.*, I, 150f.

<sup>180</sup> Millet, *Athos*, pls. 147:1, 240:2; Wellesz, *op. cit.*, 143ff.

<sup>181</sup> Boschkov, *op. cit.* (note 21 *supra*), 249, 263ff., 283ff., 373, pl. 165ff.

<sup>182</sup> A parallel is the Apocalypse cycle at Dionysiou: L. C. Heydenreich, “Der Apokalypsen-Zyklus im Athosgebiet und seine Beziehungen zur deutschen Bibelillustration der Reformation,” *ZKunstg*, 8 (1939), 1ff.; J. Renaud, *Le cycle de l’Apocalypse de Dionysiou: Interprétation byzantine de gravures occidentales* (Paris, 1943).

which the refectory's decoration derived.<sup>183</sup> Scenes from the menologion, the Akathistos Hymn, the Life of the Baptist, the parable of the Vine, the Heavenly Ladder, the Ecumenical Councils (first and seventh), and the story of Elias are common to both.<sup>184</sup> For the most part these subjects have the same meaning and functions that they had in the *trapeza*, calling attention to acts and seasons of cleansing, preparation, martyrdoms, rigorous monastic life, and fasts to anticipate the feasts, which in this case are the celebrations of the eucharist in the heart of the church. As we shall see, this concept of anticipation and preparation had a decisive role in the slightly earlier programs on the exteriors of Moldavian monasteries.

Before looking at them in detail, however, we should note that the late appearances of this Tree of Jesse in the Church of the Nativity at Arbanasi in Bulgaria (1649) and the monastic church of Cetățuia near Iași (1668–72) are both in narthexes, and there is every reason to believe that the programs of which they are a part have the same goals and references as Dochiariou's. Both examples are interesting primarily for their pagans; otherwise, most of their content is anticipated in the earlier Moldavian Trees. Two new scenes which show the continued impact of the Virgin's prefigurations appear at Arbanasi. The Virgin of the Life-Giving Spring has replaced the episode of the Fleece, and the Burning Bush has supplanted the Star out of Jacob.<sup>185</sup> Considering the late dates of these works, the modifications are not surprising. In fact, it is the endurance of the fundamental form of the Tree that is remarkable.

During the reign of Petru Rareș (1527–38, 1541–46) painters in Moldavia adopted this type of Tree of Jesse for use in their striking programs of murals on the exteriors of monastic churches. The best examples of these are at Moldovița (1537) and Voroneț (1547), and their evidence is supplemented by the late one at Sucevița (ca. 1600) and the two badly weathered versions at the monasteries at Humor (1530–35) and St. George at Suceava (1532–34). More than likely, the Moldavian painters adopted this subject from an Athonite source, for Athos was as important a religious center for the Romanians as it had been for the Serbs.<sup>186</sup>

As the discussion of the archetype and stemma in the first part of this study showed, the common Romanian model had three distinguishing features: the Prophecy of Nahum metamorphosed into the Ascension; the Vision of Joel was rejected in favor of the Annunciation of the Second Coming; and the heads of the twelve tribes of Israel, instead of ancestors mentioned by Matthew, flanked the central line of kings. One reason for including the Ascension was to develop the illustration of Christ's life, supplementing the Nativity, the Presentation, and the Crucifixion on the right side of the Tree with His last appearance in human form. As an extension of this moment, the Annunciation of the Second Coming stressed

<sup>183</sup> Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, 305f., suggests similarities between the program of a narthex and a *trapeza*.

<sup>184</sup> Brockhaus, *op. cit.* (note 17 *supra*), 286, pl. 12, shows that the life of St. Gerasimos is in the outer narthex at Dochiariou; Gerasimos and the Lion is in Lavra's *trapeza*.

<sup>185</sup> T. Velmans, "L'iconographie de la 'Fontaine de Vie' dans la tradition byzantine à la fin du moyen âge," *Synthronon. Art et Archéologie de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen âge* (Paris, 1968), 119 ff.

<sup>186</sup> N. Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains et de leur civilisation* (Paris, 1920), 147 ff.; M. A. Musicescu, "Réflexions sur quelques problèmes de la peinture post-byzantine dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe," *Association internationale d'études du Sud-Est européen, Bulletin*, 10 (1972), 100 and *passim*.

the eschatological promise of the Ascension; the text inscribed on it is a paraphrase of Acts 1:11: "This Jesus, who has been taken up from you into heaven, shall come again in the same way as you have seen him going up to heaven." As Henry observed, this message is reinforced by the dual busts in heaven, the Father and the Son, at Moldovița, which surely recall Mark 14:62: "And you shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of the power and coming with the clouds of heaven."<sup>187</sup> Those who introduced this iconography must have been preoccupied with the final moment in history, when Christ shall return in glory, condemn his enemies, and welcome the faithful of the church to heaven, a preoccupation that is supported by the first antiphon of the Feast of the Ascension which is based on Psalm 46:3f.: "For the Lord is high, terrible: a great king over all the earth. He hath subdued the people under us; and the nations under our feet." These ideas concur with the clear and rather aggressive characterization of unbelievers and oppressors which is so noteworthy a facet of the typical Moldavian program, and they are especially relevant to S. Ulea's observation of militantly anti-Ottoman motifs in the paintings, reflections of Petru Rareș' struggle against Turkish domination.<sup>188</sup> Portions of the iconography crucial to this theme are, first, the Siege of Constantinople which, in effect, enlists the Virgin as patron of the eventual liberation of all cities conquered or threatened by the Turks, and, second, the extraordinary prominence given the Turks and Tatars amidst the damned in the Last Judgment.<sup>189</sup>

The protective, sponsoring role of the Virgin in this anti-Ottoman context reminds us that she is very prominent in the two new scenes. Surely, a supplementary reason for their inclusion was her traditional part in the iconography of the Ascension. Her presence guarantees Christ's dual nature and His human ancestry, a doctrine which, of course, the Tree as a whole emphasizes.

It is the Jesse Tree seen as a Marian symbol that has most to do with the portrayal of the heads of the twelve tribes beside the kings. These are ancestors "outside the genealogy of Christ," and in current practice the Sunday of Ancestors of Christ, preceding the Sunday of the Genealogy, commemorates them. They were represented earlier in the south dome of the narthex of the Kariye Djami. As Underwood suggested, the liturgical basis for their appearance in the mosaics was probably the distichs composed by Christopher of Mytilene, which were added to the Synaxary in the thirteenth century to expand the list of forefathers honored in the pre-Christmas season.<sup>190</sup> Thus, the twelve tribes can be seen as a late step in the adaptation of the image to its function as a Marian symbol and to its new place in the liturgical calendar.

Near the time that Theophanes and his associates were exploring the idea of a series of subjects pertaining to seasons of fasting at the Lavra, their Moldavian

<sup>187</sup> Henry, "L'arbre de Jessé," 4. The scene at Voroneț, with a bust of the Virgin within the crowd, is more elaborate than that at Moldovița. Neither iconography resembles that discussed by Millet, *La dalmatique* (note 164 *supra*), 28, who also analyzes the fascination with the Second Coming, 8ff. and *passim*.

<sup>188</sup> S. Ulea, "L'origine et la signification idéologique de la peinture extérieure moldave," *Revue roumaine d'histoire*, 2 (1963), 41ff. and *passim*.

<sup>189</sup> M.-A. Musicescu and S. Ulea, *Voroneț* (Bucharest, 1969), 15, pl. 52. On the siege, see A. Grabar, "Une graffite slave sur la façade d'une église de Bucovine," in *L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du moyen âge*, I (Paris, 1968), 73ff.

<sup>190</sup> P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* (New York, 1966), I, 49ff.; II, 42ff.

counterparts developed an even more comprehensive program of this kind. As Ulea has shown, seven subjects of the large exterior mural paintings on the churches reappear with such constancy that they must constitute a definite program.<sup>191</sup> These are the Tree of Jesse; the Parable of the Prodigal Son; the Last Judgment; the history of Adam and Eve; the Akathistos Hymn with its prologue, the Siege of Constantinople; the Heavenly Ladder or its local substitute, the Celestial Steps;<sup>192</sup> and, finally, the huge, hierarchically arranged choirs of the elect, often called the *Čin*, on the apses. Taking into account differences of total area among the churches and varying degrees of preservation, the regularity with which these seven themes appear assures their preeminence in the plans of the patrons and painters. The decoration at Voroneț includes all of them, while Moldovița and Sucevița have six. Where less painting has been preserved, as at Humor, Arbore, or St. George at Suceava, these percentages are decreased, but only in proportion to the extent of the overall loss.<sup>193</sup> Around this core one usually finds other paintings of variable subject matter: Lives of saints, especially popular ones like Nicholas, George, and Demetrios, and occasionally Marian symbols like the Burning Bush.

Almost all of the principal subjects appear in the Lavra's refectory and in Dochiariou's narthex, and in Moldavia, as there, they exemplify the seasons of fasting: the Jesse Tree—the fast before the Nativity; the Last Judgment, the Akathistos, and the Heavenly Ladder—Lent. The story of the Prodigal Son conforms to this same scheme; the ninth Sunday before Easter is dedicated to it. It appears, therefore, that the exterior paintings of these Moldavian churches were selected as a fast cycle, to symbolize preparation for the feast of the Eucharist within the church and to complement the festal subjects which dominate the decoration of the interior. Only the meaning of the *Čin* requires clarification in this context.

As I have argued elsewhere, the tiered choirs which compose a typical *Čin* correspond very closely to the divine order invoked during the rite of Prothesis (*Proskomide*), when the elements of the Mass are prepared.<sup>194</sup> This ritual begins with a prayer addressed to God in heaven, and then, with the preparation of the bread, further commemorations are made in honor of the Virgin, John the Baptist, the prophets, apostles, holy fathers and saints, and martyrs and hermit saints. Almost exactly the same order is followed in the *Čin* at Voroneț and at all the other monasteries where the subject is found.<sup>195</sup> Just as important as the order, however, is the fact that the connection of the subject with the Prothesis would explain the numerous sacramental references in these compositions. The *Amnos* is at Voroneț; the Emmanuel and Christ as the High Priest are at Humor; the infant in the chalice

<sup>191</sup> Ulea, "L'origine," 39ff. and *passim*.

<sup>192</sup> Henry, *Les églises*, 247; *idem*, "Folklore et iconographie religieuse, contribution à l'étude de la peinture moldave," *Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français des Hautes-Études en Roumanie, Mélanges*, 1927, p. 73ff.

<sup>193</sup> Ștefănescu, *L'évolution de la peinture* (note 19 *supra*), 106ff., 124ff., 144ff.; *idem*, *Nouvelles recherches*, 149ff.

<sup>194</sup> Taylor, "Moldavian Trees," 272ff.

<sup>195</sup> Occasionally this order will vary slightly, but that probably reflects the absence of a fixed tradition of citation in the liturgy: Millet, *La dalmatique*, 85, graphs many variants in the order of choirs. His feeling that the prophets were only a seventeenth-century addition to the choirs (p. 88f.) is erroneous, however. See Symeon of Thessalonica, in PG, 155, col. 279ff.

beneath the lamb of God is at Moldovița; and the lamb, the *Ammos*, and Christ as the High Priest are at Sucevița.<sup>196</sup>

When considered in the context of the total decoration of the monasteries, it should not seem at all surprising to find this reference to the Prothesis. Numerous subjects on the interior reflect liturgical practice—Christ in the Chalice, the Communion of the Apostles, and the Divine Liturgy, for which Christ the High Priest is shown vested on the outside, to name only a few examples.<sup>197</sup> In the context of the exterior decoration the reference has an even more defined role. Together with the fast subjects—the Tree of Jesse, the Last Judgment, the Prodigal Son, the Heavenly Ladder, Adam and Eve, and the Akathistos—it composes a total image of anticipation and preparation. Just as fasts ready the worshiper for the major holidays of the liturgical year, the priest daily readies himself and the elements of the Mass for the eucharistic celebration. To the approaching faithful the exterior paintings convey the idea of anticipation, and the readiness of the church as the body of Christ, the bread, for communion. No other program for the exterior could surpass the propriety of this one, and this Tree of Jesse found a prominent place in it.

#### CONCLUSION

Having reconstructed the original iconography of this Tree of Jesse, defined its original meaning and the probable circumstances of its creation, and then traced its later fortunes at Orvieto and in southeastern Europe, we are left confronting an apparently paradoxical situation. In Catholic Europe, where the image was created and was understood until at least the first decades of the fourteenth century, the subject had only limited acceptance. In Orthodox Europe, on the other hand, where it was imported and was not fully comprehended, it endured far into the seventeenth century, if not later. Enumerating copies yields only the crudest index of popularity, but nevertheless I am confident that the seventeen-to-one ratio between Eastern and Western copies is a reasonable approximation of the relative esteem for the image.

Just why the circulation of this Tree in the West was so restricted that the only evidence for it there is in the sculpture at Orvieto is not a question that is ever likely to be answered completely. Good paradigms for creation are much easier to find than ones for extinction. Nevertheless, it is possible to suggest a number of factors which must have contributed to the situation. First, when the image arrived in Serbia, a definite place was found for it within the very stable canon of Orthodox church decoration. By contrast, because there was no well-defined order of decoration for churches in Italy or in northern Europe, this Tree had to compete with an enormous range of alternative subjects, not the least of which would have been

<sup>196</sup> Dolhești Mari (shortly before 1481) has a composition which shows an early development of this theme: Ștefănescu, *Nouvelles recherches*, 5ff.; Taylor, "Moldavian Trees," 274.

<sup>197</sup> Brockhaus, *op. cit.* (note 17 *supra*), 61ff.; G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile* (Paris, 1916), 31ff. and *passim*; J. D. Ștefănescu, *L'illustration des Liturgies dans l'art de Byzance et de l'Orient* (Brussels, 1936), 44ff. and *passim*; Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (note 143 *supra*), 14ff.; Millet and Velmans, *La peinture* (note 48 *supra*), ixff.

Jesse Trees of the conventional type.<sup>198</sup> Competition would have come also from images drawn from compilations like the *Speculum humanae salvationis* or the *Biblia pauperum*, which mine the Old Testament for typologies of the New in more systematic ways than this Tree does;<sup>199</sup> it would have come from increasingly humanized representations of the Virgin, whose humanity is the guarantee of her Son's; and even from depictions of saints' Lives that exemplified unshakable belief in official Christian doctrine. These kinds of competition would have made potential Western users of this Tree less willing to accept its cumbersome nature, its need for large display space, and its intricate iconography that might be inadvertently corrupted. Furthermore, if I am correct about its Orvietan origin, then this, too, would have restricted its circulation, for that city was never large enough to sustain a significant local community of artists who would have served as its natural exporters. The documentation of the cathedral's fabrication reveals that almost all the skilled labor, especially *capomaestri*, sculptors, mosaicists, and painters, were outsiders, usually Sienese.<sup>200</sup>

Together with these factors is another, somewhat more elusive one: style. We cannot, of course, describe the particular style, the special manner of rendering, of the archetype. However, we can conceive of its general appearance, if judged by the standards of the fourteenth or later centuries, as relatively schematic: a two-dimensional array of elements pertinent to the themes of ancestry and prophecy, in which details of form and characterization would be consistent with what is known from extant central Italian monuments of the 1260's. While these characteristics may not have inhibited reproductions of the Tree for thirty or forty years after its origin, they would have effectively precluded many subsequent copies. There is no way that the essential nature of the Tree could have been altered to conform to the new demands for more substantial, spatial realism and for empathetic immediacy and subtlety in presenting its subject. Attacks on heresy in the Trecento assume a very different form, as exemplified by the *Via Veritatis* fresco in the Spanish Chapel (1366-68).<sup>201</sup> There, Andrea da Firenze, who could be quite sympathetic to Dugento art,<sup>202</sup> portrayed scenes of ministry and reconciliation which include SS. Thomas Aquinas and Peter Martyr disputing and converting heretics. Besides choosing acts which depend on personal intervention, Andrea cultivated variety and nuance in human action and reaction: even heretics argue, reject, worry, and submit individually. The dogmatic forthrightness of the Jesse Tree belongs to a different, perhaps less compromising and individualized world.<sup>203</sup> It would have remained a vital image in the West only if its form and content could

<sup>198</sup> In addition, variations of the Jesse Tree arose which emphasized the incarnation very strongly, e.g., the window in St. Kunibert, Cologne, which has scenes of the life of Christ in place of the kings: G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, I (Greenwich, 1971), fig. 31.

<sup>199</sup> J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Mulhouse, 1907-9); H. Cornell, *Biblia pauperum* (Stockholm, 1925); in general, see *LChrI*, IV, 395 ff.

<sup>200</sup> Fumi, *Il Duomo* (note 5 *supra*), 475 ff. and *passim*.

<sup>201</sup> M. Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (New York, 1964), 97 ff., fig. 96.

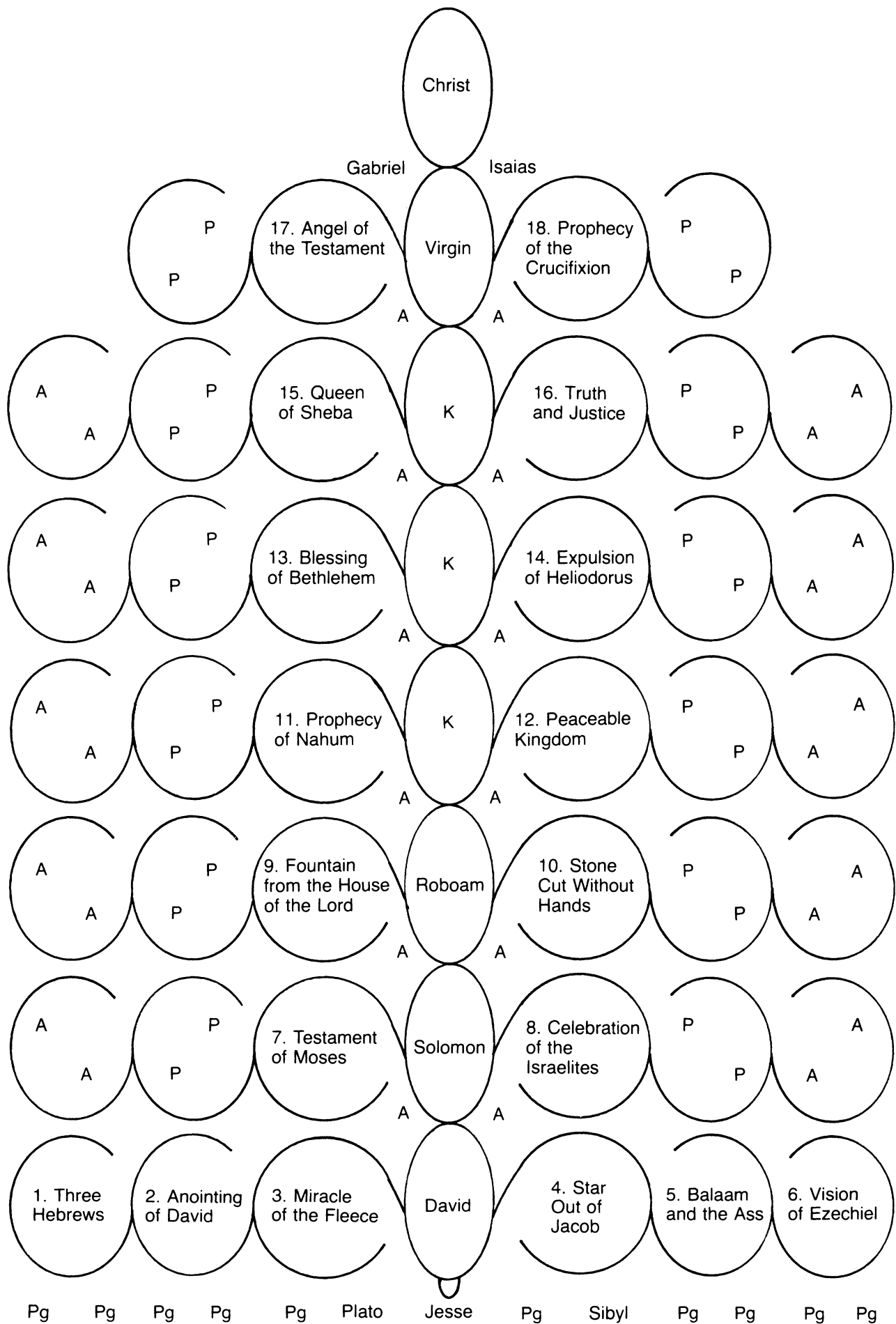
<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 47 f.

<sup>203</sup> Florentine ambivalence toward heresy itself is suggested by Meiss, *ibid.*, 102 ff.; and also M. B. Becker, "Florentine Politics and the Diffusion of Heresy in the Trecento: A Socioeconomic Inquiry," *Speculum*, 34 (1959), 60 ff.

have been divorced from that earlier era, so that necessary transformations could have been imposed on it, and it is hard to imagine how such a separation could have taken place.

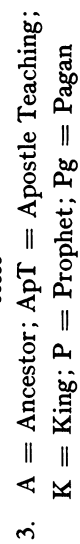
In Eastern Europe, on the other hand, stylistic change and innovations in church decoration were more gently paced. This, plus the loss of comprehension of its original purpose, permitted the transformations of meaning and form that guaranteed the Tree of Jesse's survival.

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1. Tree of Jesse, Archetype.

A = Ancestor; K = King; P = Prophet; Pg = Pagan



Orvieto. Tree of Jesse



4. The Celebration of the Israelites



5. The Peaceable Kingdom



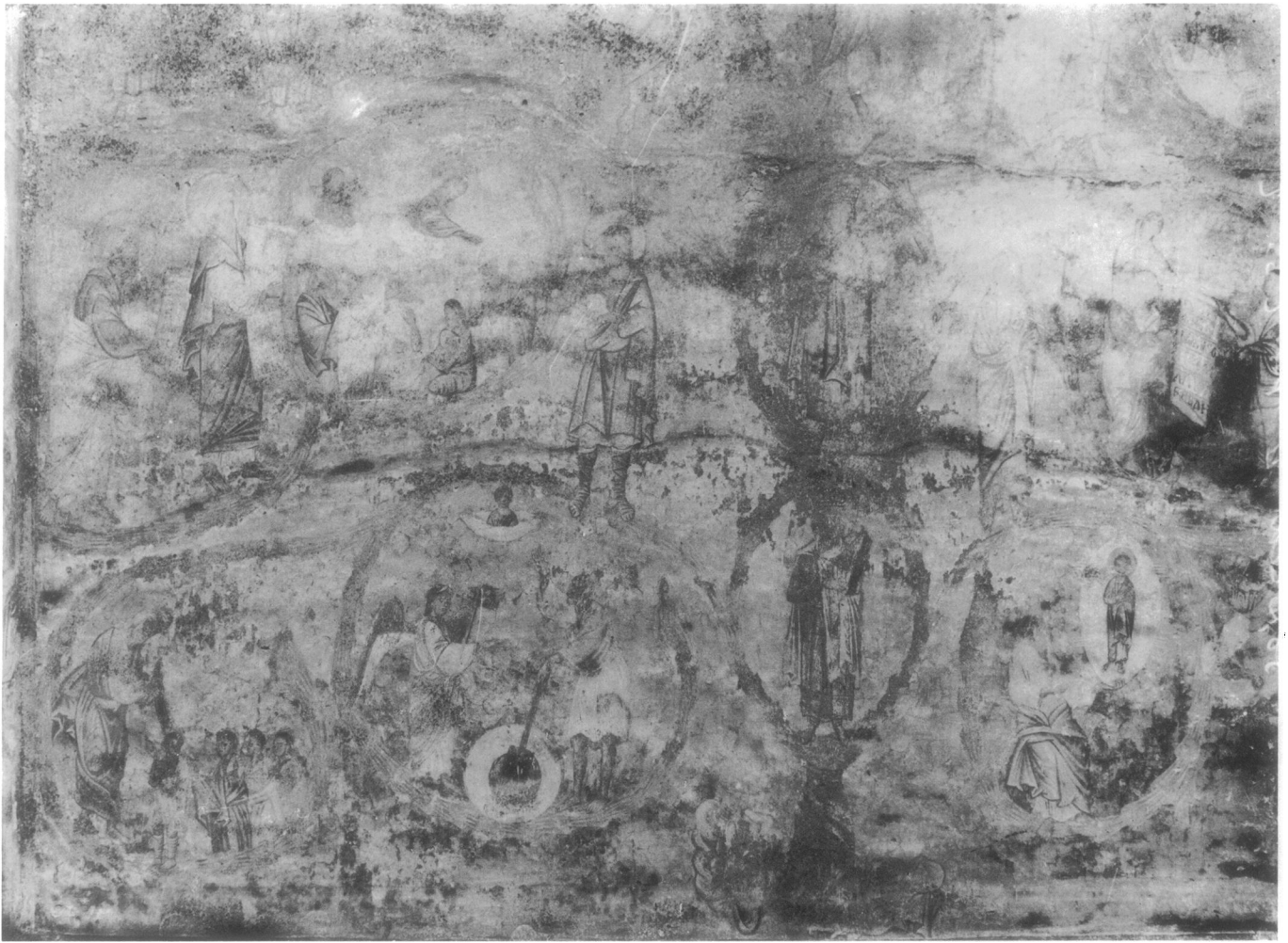
6. Apostolic Teaching



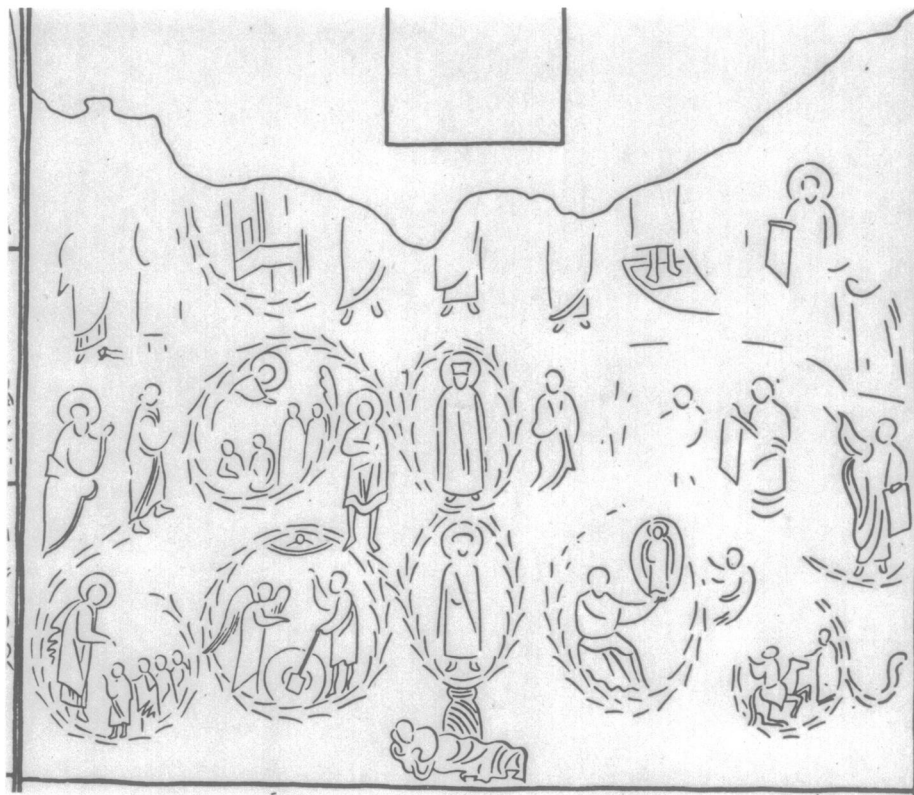
7. Apostolic Penance



8. Sopoćani. Tree of Jesse, Right Side

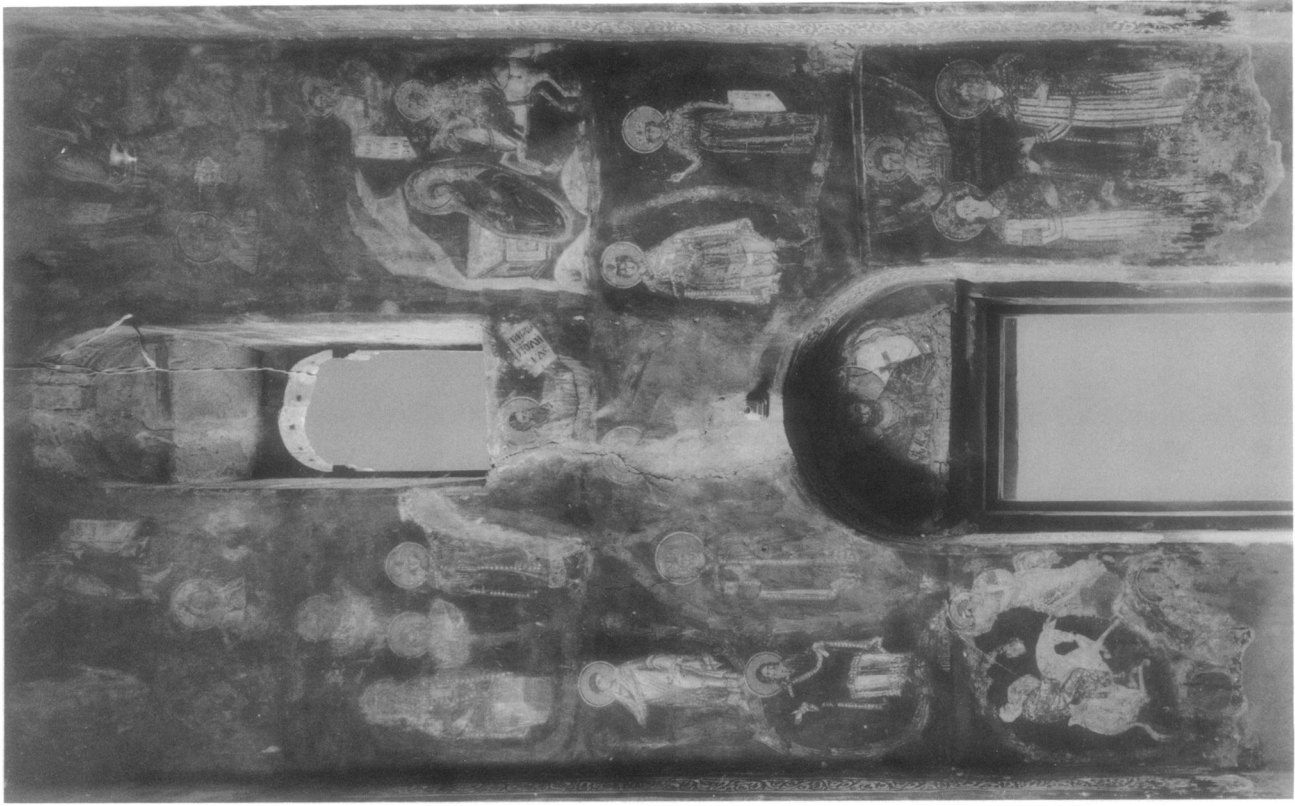


9.



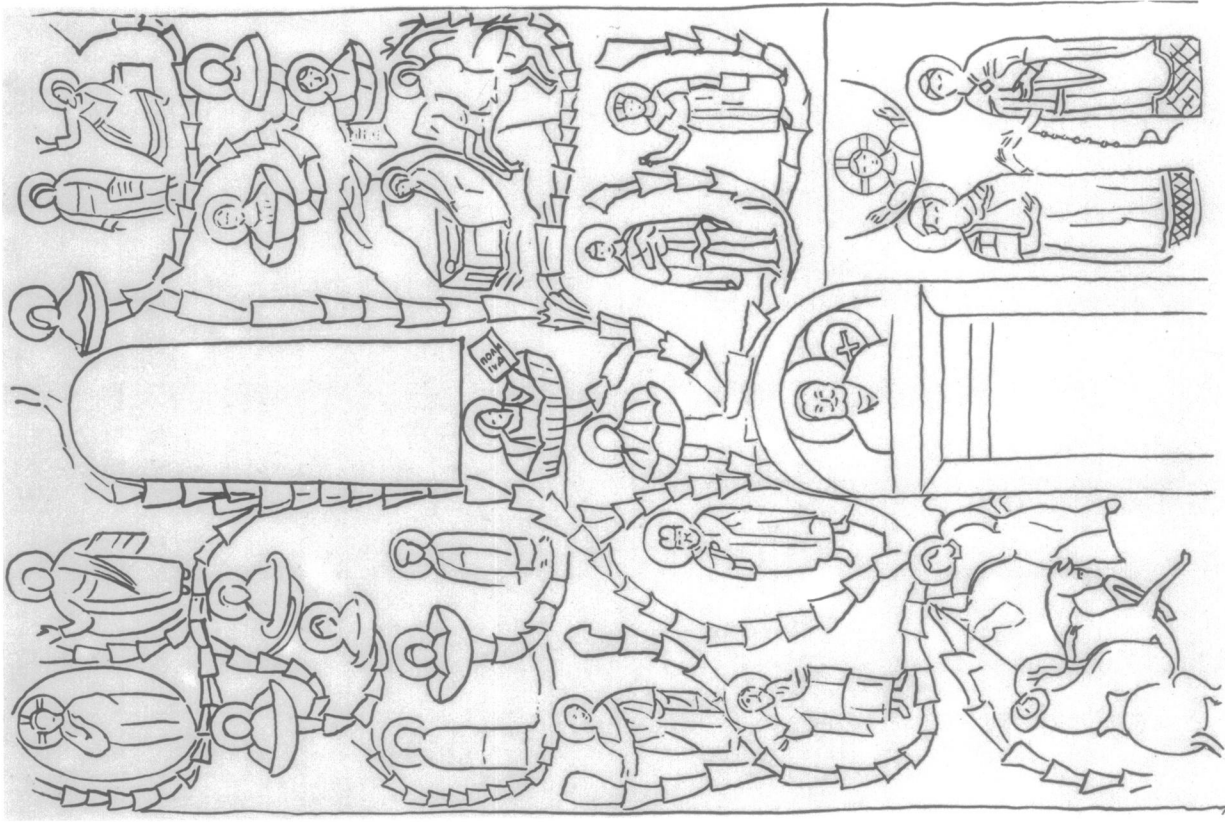
10.

Sopoćani. Tree of Jesse



11.

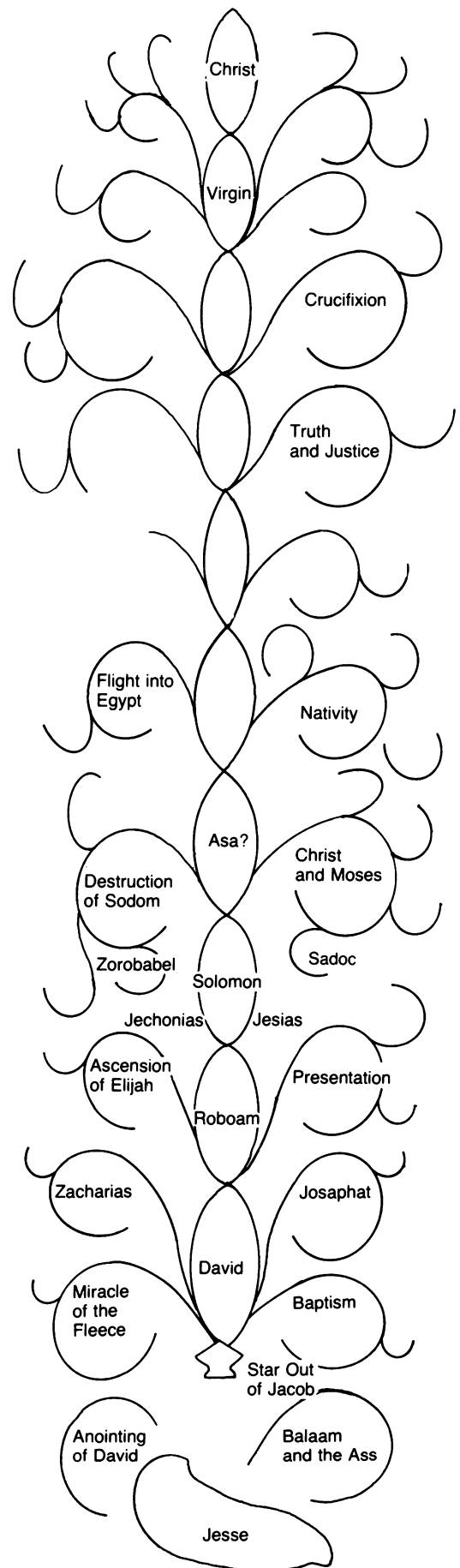
Arilje. Tree of Jesse



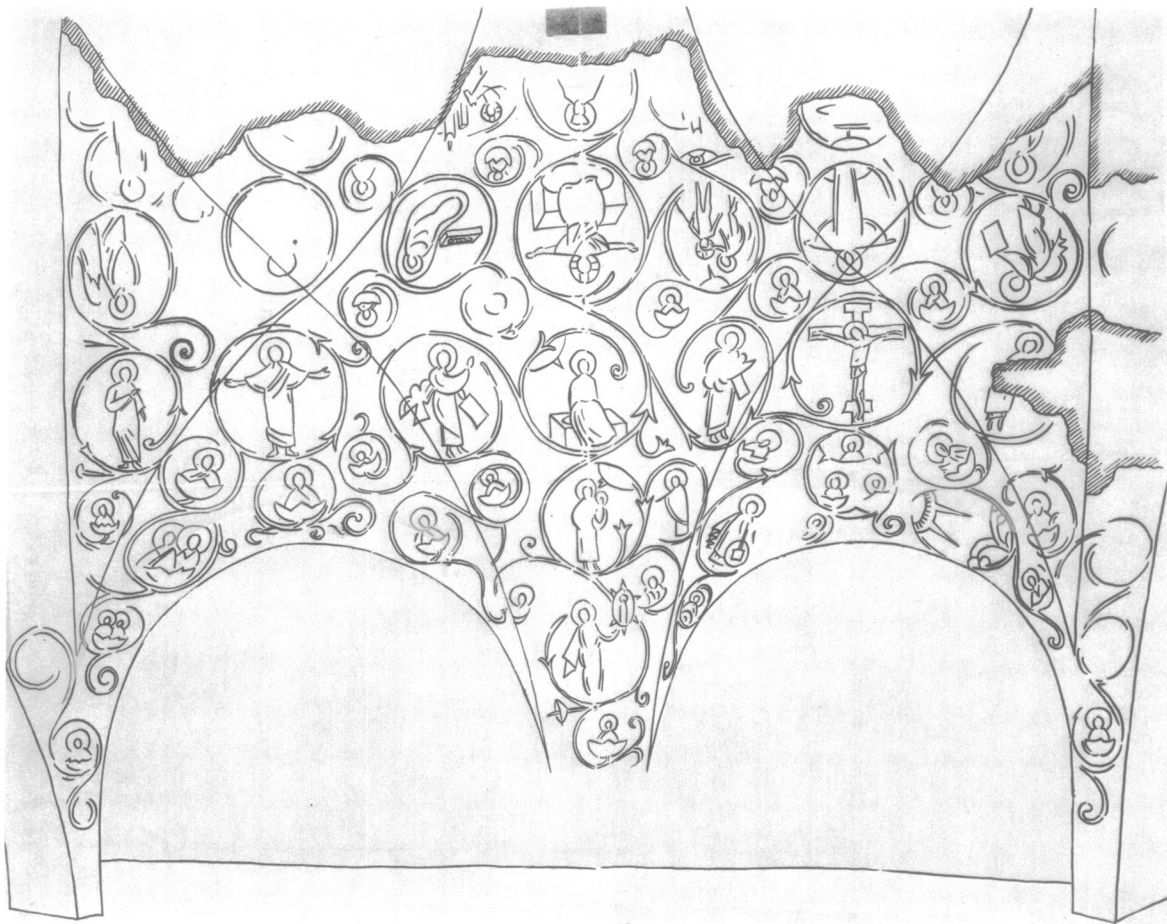
12.



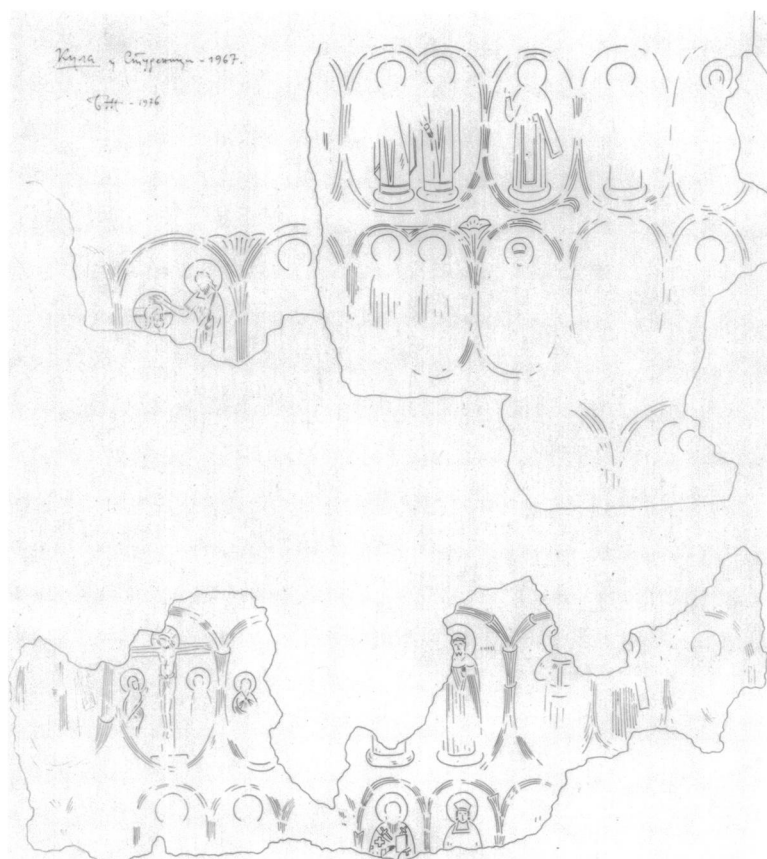
13.



14.



15. Prizren



16. Studenica  
Tree of Jesse

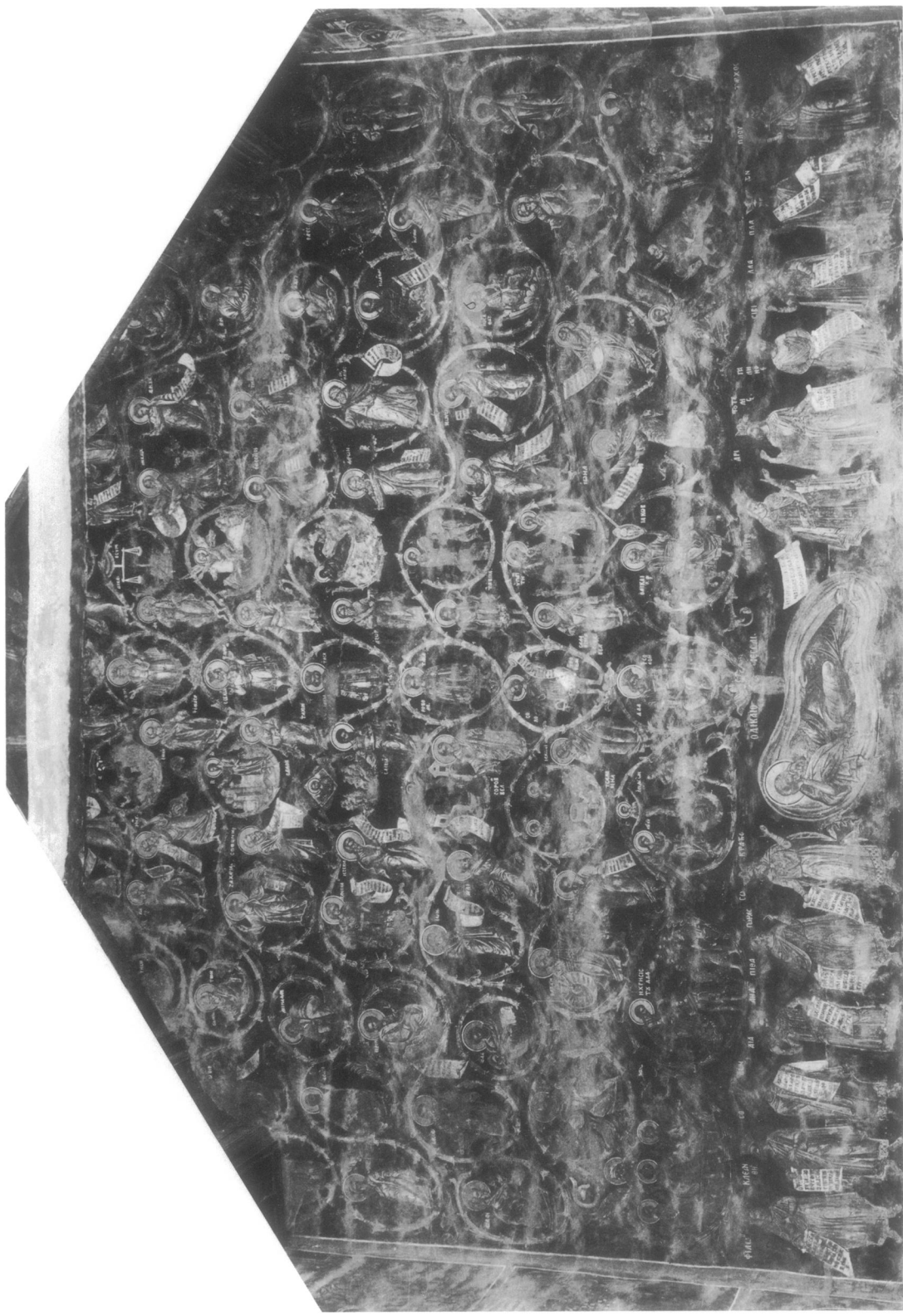


17. Salonika

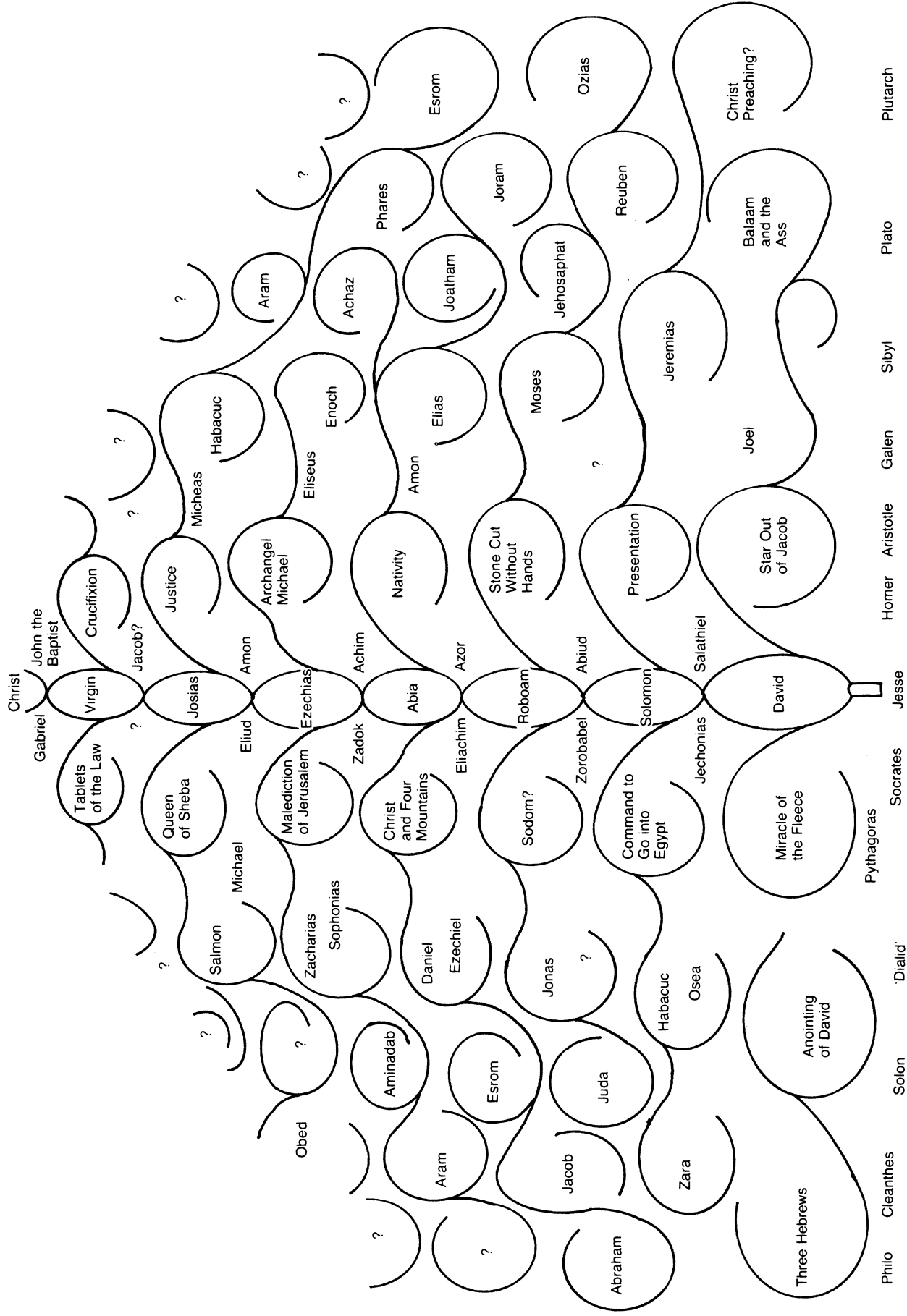


18. Morača

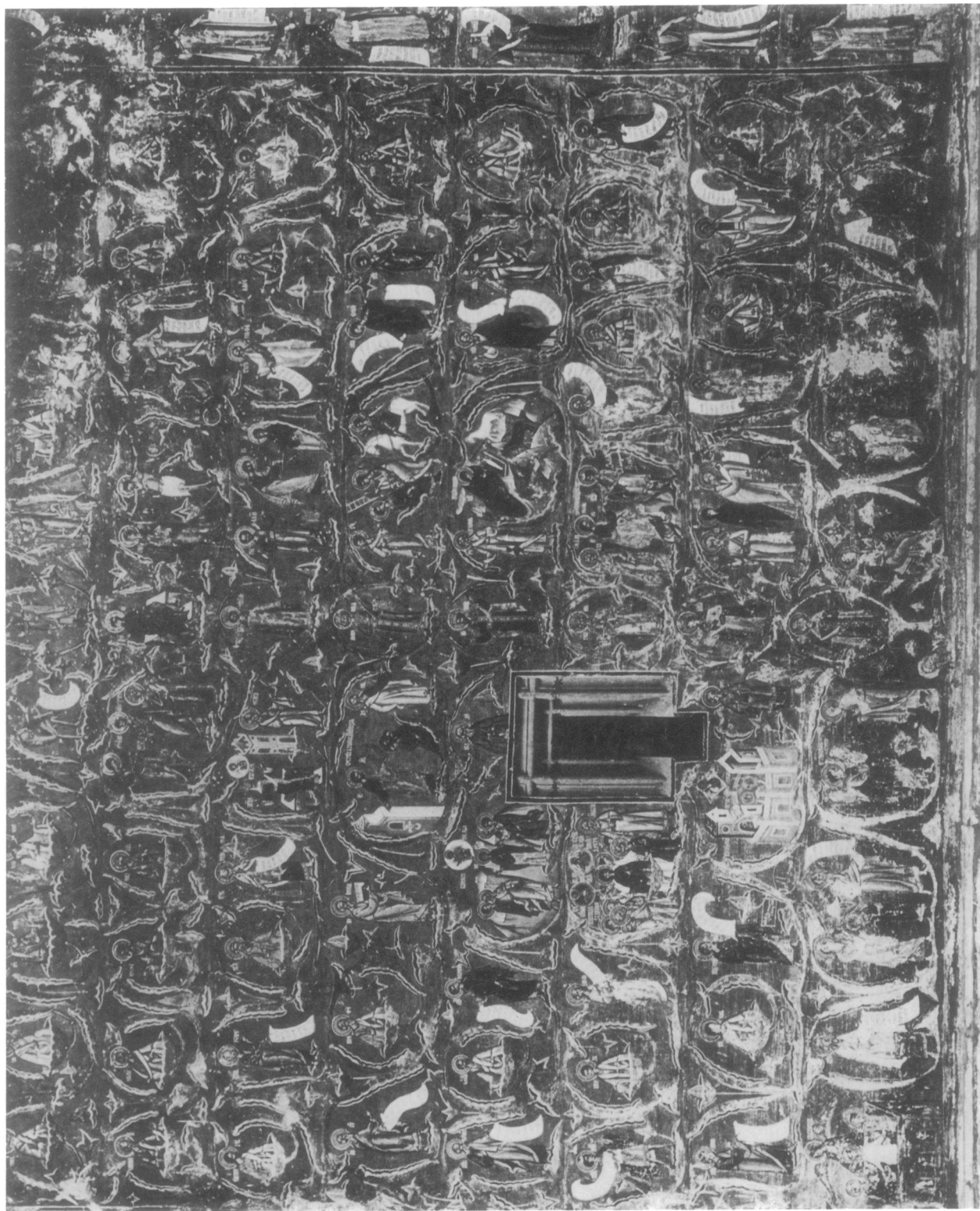
Tree of Jesse



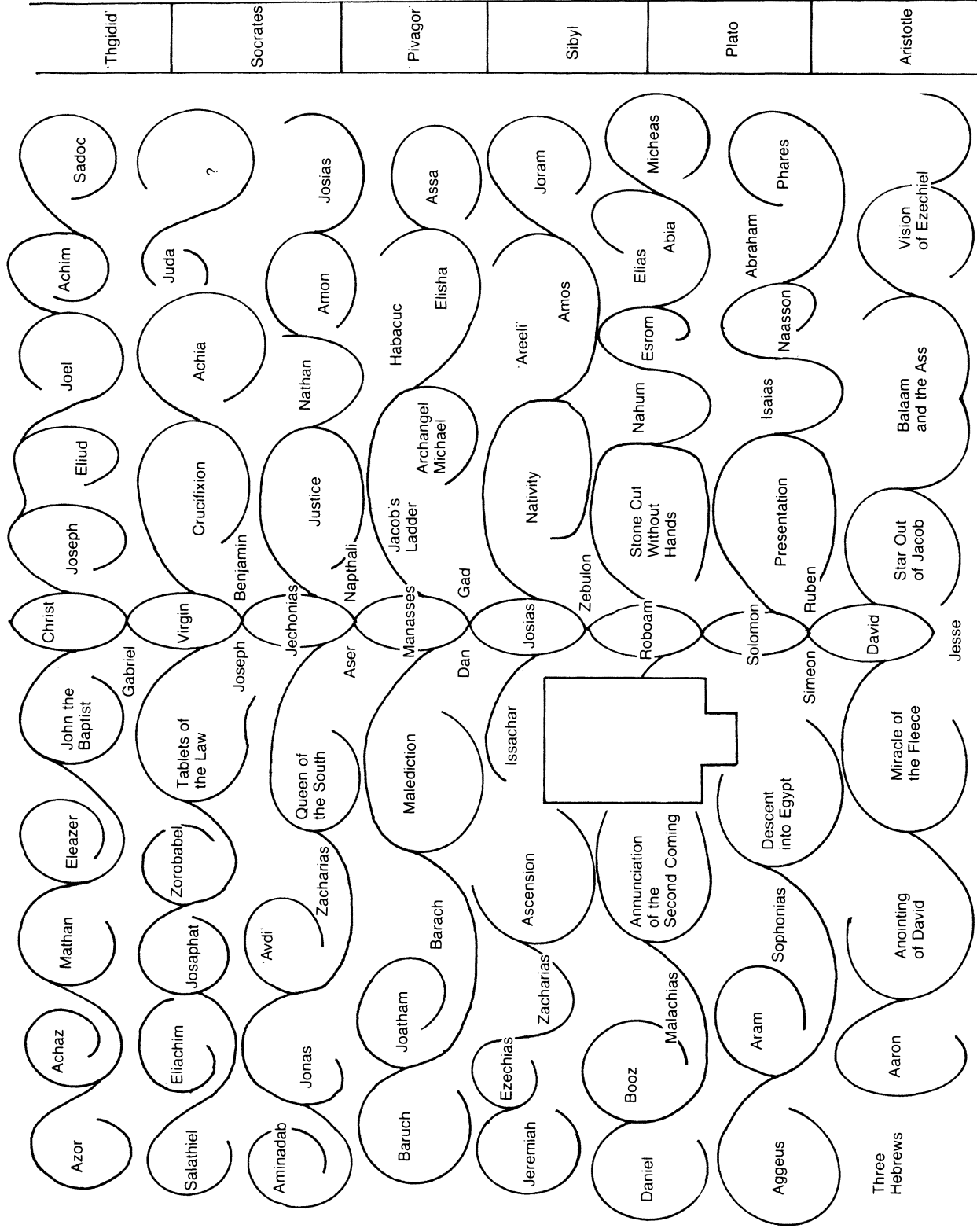
19. Lavra. Tree of Jesse



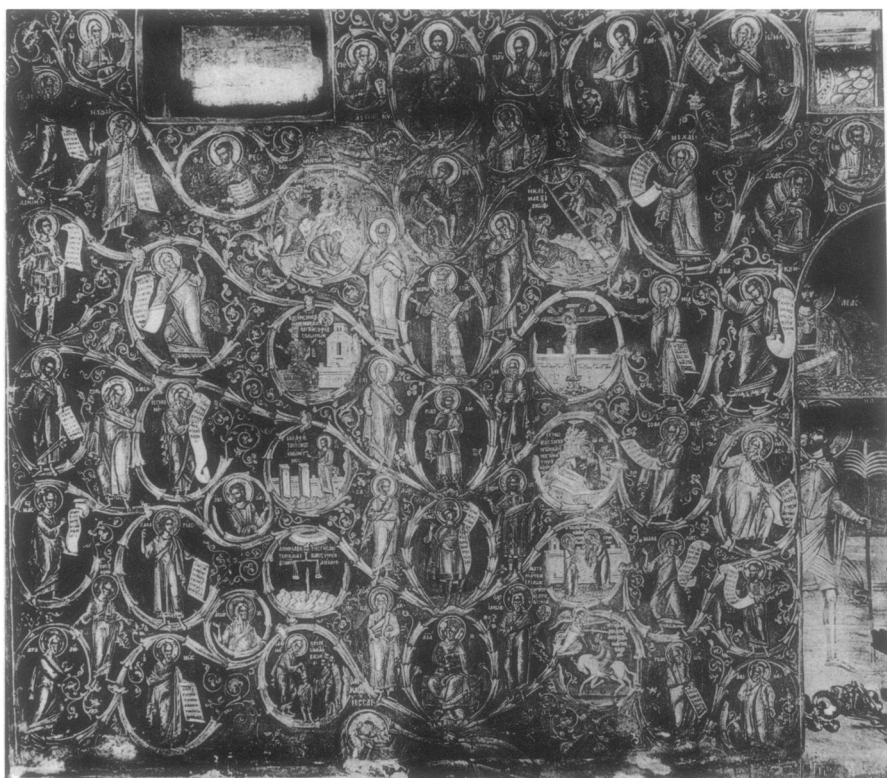
20. Lavra. Tree of Jesse



21. Voronet. Tree of Jesse



22. Voronet. Tree of Jesse



23. Dochiariou



24. Moldovița

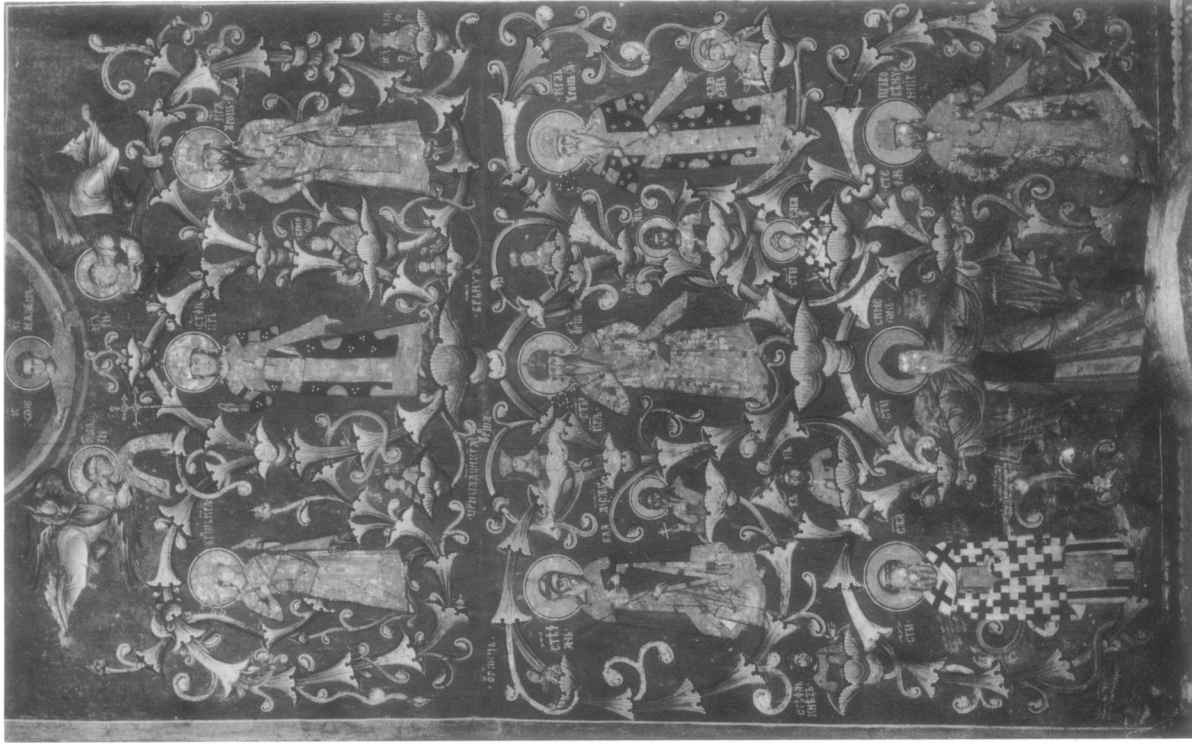
Tree of Jesse



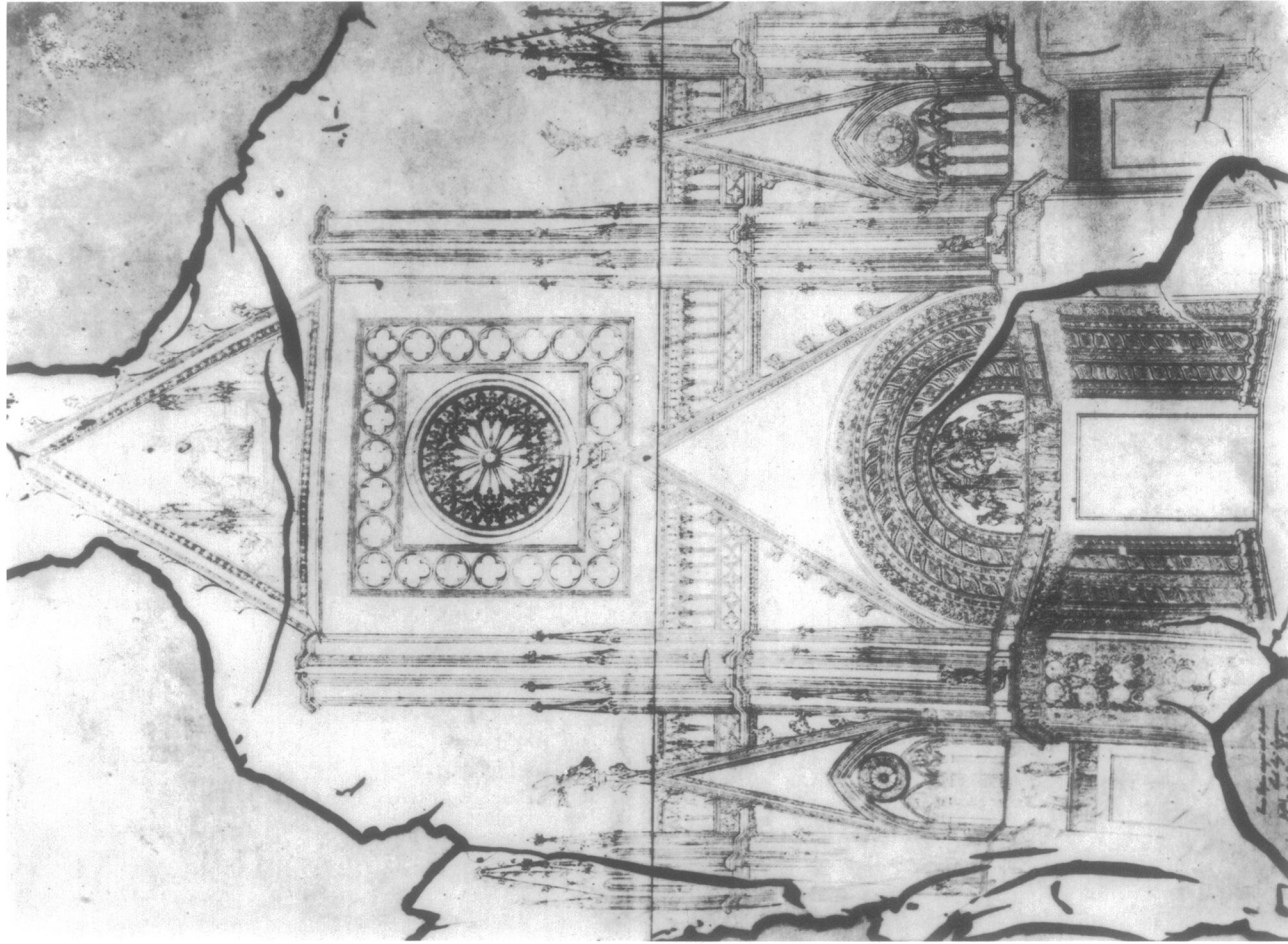
26. Sucevița. Plato



25. Voroneț. The Presentation

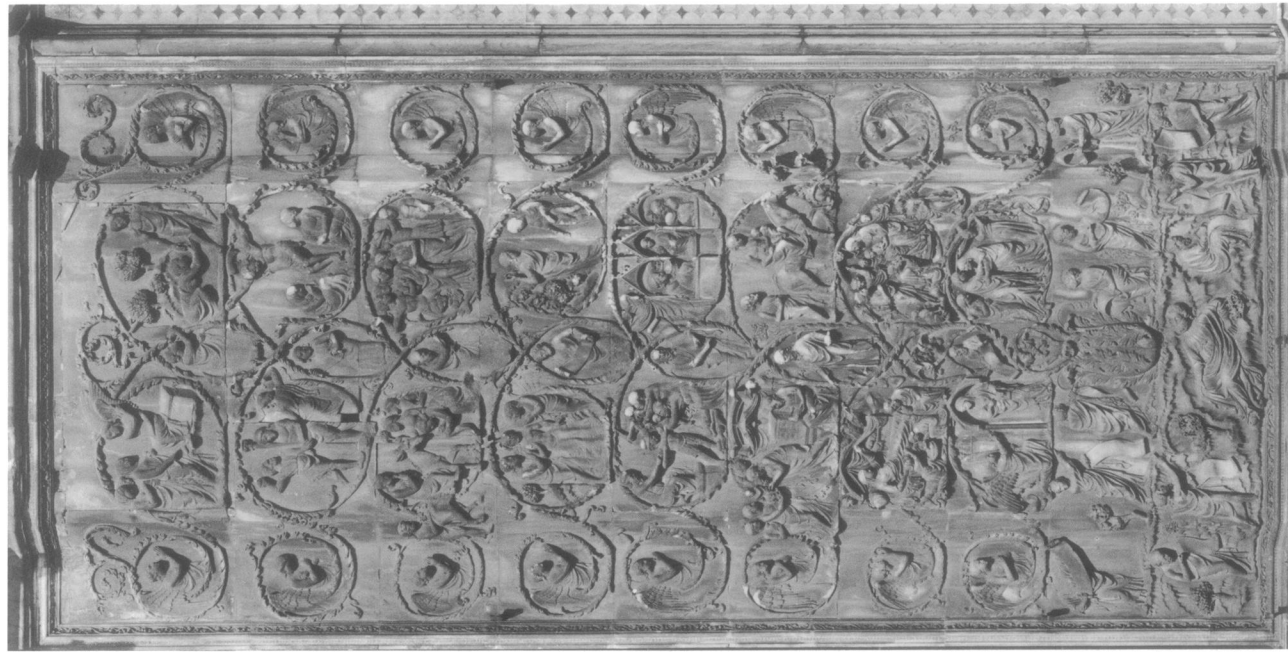


27. Dečani. Nemanjić Genealogical Tree



28. Façade

Orvieto



29. New Testament Pier